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PART I.

THE ILLUSTRATED
COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY
OF THE GREAT
BATTLE OF SHILOH

PRICE, \$2.25.

BY
SAMUEL MEEK HOWARD,
28th Illinois Infantry,
GETTYSBURG, SOUTH DAKOTA.

1921

For Sale by S. M. Howard,
Gettysburg, S. D.

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DEDICATION.

This labor of love is hereby dedicated to
THADDEUS ANDERSON, now of Burlington
Junction, Missouri, the boyhood chum and
lifelong friend of the author throughout all
the vicissitudes of his tempest-tossed life.

SAMUEL MEEK HOWARD.

LONG YEARS, AND YEARS, AND YEARS AGO.

Thaddeus Anderson (late of Burlington Junction, Missouri) and the author of the following lines were reared near neighbors in the township of Trivoli, Peoria County, Illinois, three miles east and three south of Farmington, and became acquainted in early youth. Their tastes running parallel, they soon became close friends and remained chums throughout the vicissitudes of long life. Soon after reaching maturity, Thad married and moved to Missouri, while the author volunteered in Company H, 28th Illinois Infantry, and served continuously in the War of the Great Rebellion for four years and nine months; hence these boyhood chums never met for many years. Long after the conclusion of the war, the author returned to his boyhood home and visited many of the scenes of his early life, and thereupon wrote the following poem, which vividly portrays the exact experience of many men of mature years.

I 'm tramping 'round Trivoli, Thad,
Where you and I, when boys,
Learned to love each other, Thad,
And shared each other's joys;
While kindly feelings, one by one,
Began to bud and grow,
Whilst we were sporting 'round here, Thad,
Long years, and years, and years ago.

The old white church upon the hill
Still lifts its time-worn form,
Still basks in every shining sun
And bathes in every storm;
Whilst Concord Church, with walls of brick,
Where other oaks now grow,
Recalls again the scenes which were,
Long years, and years, and years ago.

I stroll along the old-time brook
Wherein we used to play,
And wandering onward farther down
Along its winding way,
I come upon that shaded pool
Through which its waters flow,
Wherein we used to fish and swim,
Long years, and years, and years ago.

Still plodding onward farther down
Along this old-time brook,
Beholding how the wrath of Time
Hath wrecked its every nook,

Great Battle of Shiloh.

I stand upon the prostrate trunk
Of that which used to grow,
The pride of all the forest here,
Long years, and years, and years ago.

I wandered to the school-house lawn
Where once the school-house stood,
Where we learned to read and spell
Such lessons as we could,
And where, as months and terms flew by
Like fleeting flakes of snow,
We learned to cipher, parse, and write,
Long years, and years, and years ago.

But now the school-house is no more!
The lawn where once it stood
Is now grown up to tangled trees
Of divers kinds of wood;
The diamond where we threw the ball,
As none but boys can throw,
Has now no trace to show its place
Long years, and years, and years ago.

And thus constant changes have
Stalked forth before us all
Through the sunshine of summer and
The crisping days of fall,
Whilst we were romping 'round here, Thad,
When playing so and so,
Throughout the happy days of youth,
Long years, and years, and years ago.

Nor can I from these scenes depart,
With all that they recall,
Till I have seen my boyhood home,
The darling home of all,
Where eyes grew bright with such delight
As always used to flow
When we were sporting 'round here, Thad,
Long years, and years, and years ago.

With swelling heart, and homeward bound,
I wheel and haste away,
To clasp the hand of early friend
With greetings of to-day.
Nor can I heed the havoc wrought
By Time's remorseless blow
At all the hopes we ever had,
Long years, and years, and years ago.

But at the homestead I am met
With cold and formal bow;
Not one within remembers me,
Not one to greet me now!

* * * * *

So let me turn and haste away,
For tears are forced to flow
By such revolt from all which was,
Long years, and years, and years ago.

Throughout the shifting scenes of life,
Although we heed it not,
How soon our faces fade away,
How soon we are forgot
By each and all we ever knew,
By all we cared to know,
Upon the Battlefield of Life,
Long years, and years, and years ago!

Go when and where you may,
Through every clime of every land;
Watch well the course of all the boys
Of every troop, and tribe, and band,
In all their sports, with all their toys;
But elsewhere you will never know
A truer friend than dear departed Thad, of
Long years, and years, and years ago.

SAMUEL MEEK HOWARD.

Gettysburg, South Dakota.

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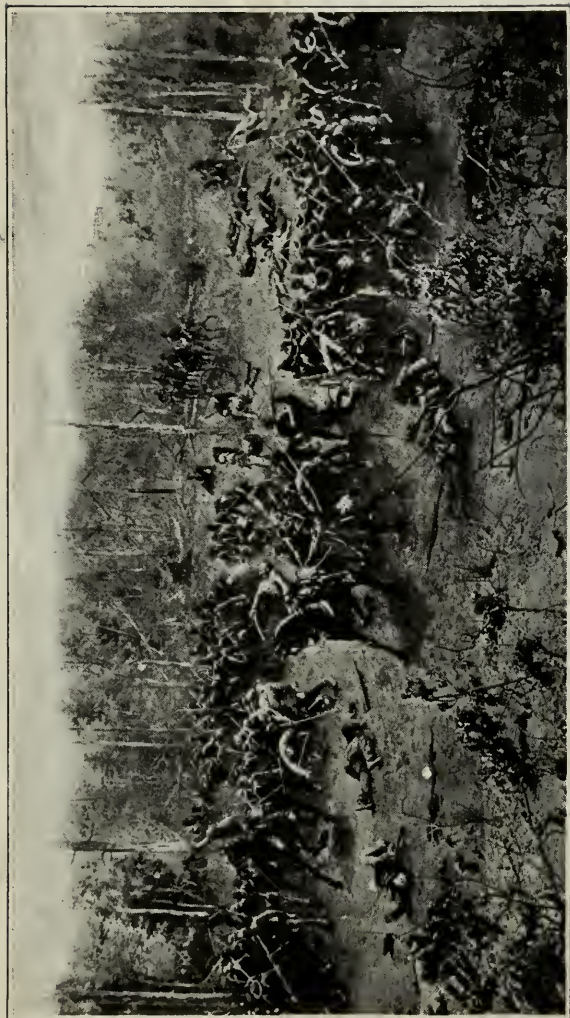
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With Compliments of the

Author



BATTLE OF SHILOH, APRIL 6 AND 7, 1862.

BIRDSEYE VIEW OF TENNESSEE RIVER, PITTSBURG LANDING, AND THE

Battlefield Of Shiloh

APRIL 6, 1862.

NORTH

DIVISION HEADQUARTERS

MCCLER AND 1
WHL WALLACE 2
HURL BUT 4
SHERMAN 5
PRENTISS 6

PAINTED BY
J. MANSKA
1917

TENNESSEE RIVER

DIAMOND ISLAND

PITTSBURG
LANDING

LONDON
TYLER





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CHAPTER I.

THE BATTLEFIELD OF SHILOH.

Upon the west bank of the Tennessee River, in Hardin County, Tennessee, on Sunday and Monday, April 6 and 7, 1862, was waged the deadliest great pitched battle of all time, which resulted in the aggregate loss of more than 26,000 men, clad either in the blue or the gray, all of whom were then at the very sunrise of manhood, and with all which that implies.

Of this enormous loss, more than 5,000 men were killed outright, all of whom are now sleeping in their windowless and silent abodes.

WITHIN THE WOODS OF TENNESSEE.

The whip-poor-will is calling
From its perch on splintered limb,
And its plaintive notes are trilling
As objects are becoming dim.
The struggling rays of starlight
Are silvering o'er each shrub and tree
Beside the graves of Shiloh's dead,
Within the woods of Tennessee.

The leaves now gently rustle
With no remaining stain of red,
As when for fallen comrade
They formed the lowly bed
From which, with fervent prayer,
He vainly sought to flee
From torture worse than death,
Within the woods of Tennessee.

Great Battle of Shiloh.

In frightful numbers here reposing
 Within their long-remembered graves,
Upon the bluffs, upon the hillsides,
 Where Old Glory proudly waves;
Their memories must remain,
 As long as Time shall be,
The dearest heritage of all,
 Within the woods of Tennessee.

CHAPTER II.

EXPLANATORY.

The great Battle of Shiloh, waged on Sunday and Monday, April 6 and 7, 1862, has always been a subject of much controversy, North and South, East and West, and is still the least correctly understood of all the great battles of America's greatest and most deadly wars.

Beyond question, this is largely due to the fact that, at that early stage of the war, all our newspaper correspondents, as well as the public at large, knew next to nothing about war on a gigantic scale; and hence they did not know the vast difference between the entire enrollment of an army and the really effective force thereof on the firing-line.

In view of the important fact that the Battle of Shiloh was waged *right in its own camps*, it at once becomes very important to know this great difference, inasmuch as the Battle of Shiloh was the only great battle in all the war which was fought right in its own camps.

It is also well to add that at the Battle of Shiloh none of the newspaper correspondents was either on or anywhere near the firing-line, but they always remained in comparative safety on the steamboats, or under the bluff of the Tennessee River, where they could see nothing of the most deadly fighting ever known since the morning stars first sang together.

It is also proper to call the public attention to the fact that, at Pittsburg Landing, the bluff of the river, on the Shiloh side, rises from near the edge of the water precipitously for nearly 100 feet, the bottom being nowhere more than a single rod in width.

At the time of the battle there were at least 12,000 soldiers, in the Army of the Tennessee alone, who were not

reported for duty, as the official reports conclusively show, and had no more business to be on the firing-line than fiddlers at funerals or preachers in purgatory. This large number of people consisted principally of soldiers not reported for duty by reason of sickness, together with teamsters, cooks and sutlers and their employees, soldiers on duty at headquarters of the army and the several divisions, brigades, and regiments, the usual crews of about 100 large steamboats, army speculators with their following, newspaper correspondents, citizens and camp-followers, and a large number of contrabands and refugees.

At that time each company had a six-mule team and teamster, and the headquarters of each regiment had three teams and teamsters, and the surgeon had one more, making 14 teamsters for each regiment. As there were 76 regiments of infantry, they had 1,064 teamsters; then the 24 batteries and 18 troops of cavalry had 159 more teamsters, making 1,199 of the teamsters alone.

And the official reports, which occur elsewhere, conclusively show that these non-combatants constituted more than 12,000 men, none of whom belonged to the fighting force of the army, and none of whom would have been present if the battle had not been waged right in its own camps.

It is hardly necessary to state that all these men remained aboard the steamboats or down under the bluff of the Tennessee River.

And when the battle terminated on Sunday, this concourse of people was augmented by the arrival of several hundred wounded soldiers, who were able to get off the firing-line.

All the newspaper correspondents wished to be as sensational as possible, and hence they wired all the great dailies of the North that, at the close of the fighting on Sunday, "General Grant's whole army was driven down cowering under the bluff of the Tennessee River; that men were actually

bayoneted in their beds; that 3,000 Union prisoners and one general were captured by the enemy; that Union officers were captured in costumes more becoming the bed-chamber than the battlefield; and that the Union army was saved from capture by the iron-clad gunboats."

Nor is even this all, for the worst is still to tell. Just as soon as the great war terminated, Mr. Greeley published the very first history thereof, which consisted chiefly of nothing but these sensational newspaper dispatches, which received a very large circulation because of the reputation of Mr. Greeley. And to add still more fuel to the flames, the compilers of our common-school histories eagerly copied the same therein, where they still remain to poison the minds of all our school-children.

And this is just what the National Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors is endeavoring with might and main to correct.

CHAPTER III.

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

In order fully to understand the American system of government, it is proper to begin at the time of the close of the Revolutionary War. By so doing, we find that our first treaty of peace was ratified in Paris in 1787, and contained the following provision, to-wit:

"ARTICLE I. His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz.: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free and sovereign *States*."

Always bear well in mind that it was the several *States* which were thereby recognized as free and independent; hence, it was not the General Government of the United States which was thus recognized, for we never had a General Government till *eight years thereafter*.

Soon after the original States had thus secured their independence, they formed an alliance among themselves under written Articles, called the Confederation. But this Confederacy was clothed with no power of government. It provided no executive, no army, no federal courts, no commander of the army. In fact, it did not pretend to be a government, but simply a voluntary alliance of the several States for mutual protection.

After experimenting with this voluntary alliance for a number of years and finding by actual experience that this voluntary alliance was a total failure, the sovereign States began to take the necessary steps to form a

Federal Constitution.

In order to accomplish this, they finally ascertained they

would necessarily have to yield some of their powers of sovereignty to the General Government. But each State was still as proud of its sovereignty as a peacock of his plumage. All desired a Federal Government, but they would not consent to the adoption of the Constitution without adding the following provision, which afterwards became Article X, to-wit:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The Constitution of the United States was ratified by the several States as follows:

By Delaware, December 7, 1787, unanimously;

By Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787, by vote of 40 to 23.

By New Jersey, December 18, 1787, unanimously,

By Georgia, January 2, 1788, unanimously.

By Connecticut, January 9, 1788, 128 to 40.

By Massachusetts, February 6, 1788, 187 to 168.

By Maryland, April 28, 1788, 63 to 12.

By South Carolina, May 23, 1788, 149 to 73.

By New Hampshire, June 21, 1788, 57 to 46.

By Virginia, June 25, 1788, 89 to 79.

By New York, July 26, 1788, 30 to 28.

By North Carolina, November 21, 1789, 193 to 75.

By Rhode Island, May 29, 1790, 34 to 32.¹

From all of which it may be seen that it took more than three years to secure adoption by all the thirteen States, and that in several of the States the ratification was secured by very small margins.

When ratified by New Hampshire, the Constitution became the supreme law of the land, that being the ninth State to ratify. And it is worthy of remark that Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island did not ratify the Constitution till after it had become operative. And thus

¹⁴ Wiley & Rhines' History of the United States, p. 29.

it conclusively appears that more than one-third of the people of the original thirteen States were opposed to the adoption of our Constitution at the time of its ratification.

And it was thus, after many years of discussion, the Constitution of the United States of America was finally adopted. Washington was inaugurated President of the United States on April 30, 1789, and the American system of government began, by means whereof royalty and the divine right of kings to rule was repudiated forever, and the right of the people to select their own ruler was firmly established. And it is for this principle that the armies of America have waged all their wars from then till now.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

Strange as it may now appear to be, our Federal Constitution contains no provision which authorizes the Federal Government to coerce any one of the several States to obey the laws of Congress; and it also contains no provision to prohibit any State from withdrawing from the Union thus created at any time it may wish so to do. But inasmuch as it does provide that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," it was stubbornly contended by a large majority of the people that any one of the States had an inherent right to withdraw from the Union thus created whenever it thought best so to do.

And in pursuance of this belief, the first instance undertaken to carry out this belief and withdraw from the Union arose in the new State of Kentucky in 1798, when the Legislature of that State proclaimed this right in a series of resolutions, one of which reads as follows:

"Resolved, That the several States composing the United States of America are not invested with the principle of unlimited submission to the General Government; but that by compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States and amendments thereto, then constituted a General Government for special purposes, delegated to that Government certain definite powers, reserving each State to itself the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and that whensoever the General Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force. That, to this compact, each State acceded as a State and as an integral party, its co-States forming, as to itself, the other party. That the Government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers

delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infraction as of the modes and measure of the redress."²

And at the same time the Legislature of Tennessee also adopted resolutions to the same effect.

But inasmuch as the dissatisfaction of both Kentucky and Tennessee was based upon the non-action of the General Government to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi River through to New Orleans, and inasmuch as the free navigation of the Mississippi was soon afterward secured by the General Government, nothing further was done for many years relative to withdrawal from the Union.

Following on in the same line came the famous Hartford Convention, held at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1814, which consisted of delegates from all the New England States.

Strangely enough, while we were engaged in a gigantic war with Great Britain, each and all of the New England States took it upon themselves to oppose our Government therein, and to nullify the Acts of Congress passed in aid thereof.

This Hartford Convention met with closed doors, and soon passed a resolution of nullification in the following words:

"In case of deliberate, dangerous, and palpable infraction of the Constitution, affecting the sovereignty of a State and the liberty of the people, it is not only the right, but the imperative duty, of such State to interpose its power."³

Throughout all the protracted debates of that secret convention, the one who proclaimed loudest and longest against our Government was hailed as the greatest hero of them all; and inasmuch as the famous Daniel Webster easily surpassed all others with a flow of eloquence equal to his reply to Hayne in the Senate of the United States, a few years later, for advocating precisely the same doctrine of State rights, he was

²⁴ Wiley & Rhines, p. 380. ³³ Wiley & Rhines, p. 60.

everywhere hailed as the special hero of that Hartford Convention. (*Ibid.*, *idem.*)

It may thus be seen the spirit of sectionalism owed its birth to New England; and that this idea had remained undisputed for the forty years following the adoption of the Constitution.

And hence, in his "The Cradle of the Confederacy," the historian Hodgson says:

"The doctrine of Secession and Nullification thus obtained its first practical application in New England. The embargo affected their maritime interests. Therefore they went so far as to designate the man who was to be the military chief of their Secession movement. The acquisition of Louisiana threatened their political supremacy. Therefore they declared that the extension of our territory justified violent separation; and we find that Aaron Burr, a prominent statesman of New York, relying upon the tacit consent of the North, and the possible forbearance of the South, organized an armed expedition to make New Orleans the capital of a great southwestern republic.

"This spirit of sectionalism acquired additional strength in the North, and especially in the East, during the War of 1812. It had not yet appeared in the South. And while the South rallied as one man to the aid of the oppressed seamen of the United States (all of Northern birth), the States of New England, at first clamorous for war, just as soon as they saw that their ships were left idle and their commerce destroyed, were as ardently clamorous for peace. They defamed President Madison, and held up to him 'The Island of Elba, or a halter!'

"Their acts of nullification at the outbreak of the war were numerous. The resolutions of their legislatures went as far as the more celebrated but not more pointed resolutions of '98. The executives of Connecticut and Massachusetts refused to place their militia, when called into service, under command of the President, as required by the Constitution. The Governor of Vermont ordered the return of the militia of that State, which had gone on the expedition to Canada. Nothing was left undone to embarrass the financial operations of the Government, to prevent the enlistment of troops, to keep back the men and money of New England from the service of the Union, and to force the President from his seat.

"Illicit trade was carried on with the enemy, and free traffic

was conducted between Massachusetts and Great Britain through a separate custom-house. Beacon-fires were lighted as signals for the enemy. The fall of Detroit was openly rejoiced at. The acts of individuals soon became the acts of the Government.

"The Massachusetts Legislature authorized delegates to meet like delegates from all the other New England States at Hartford, to consult on the subject of 'their grievances,' and upon 'the best means of preserving their resources.'

"Chief among the recommendations of that convention was, 'that an amendment be proposed restricting Congress in the exercise of an unlimited power to make new States and to admit them into the Union.'

"Throughout all their protracted proceedings, the under-current of complaint was their loss of political power by increase in the number of the States. It was the old jealousy of the small States against the large States which had so seriously obstructed the formation of the Constitution.

"A clergyman of Boston expressed the prevailing sentiment of the hour when he said: 'The Union has long since been dissolved; and it is full time that this part of the dis-United States should take care of itself.'

"Another doctor of divinity thus addressed his flock: 'The Israelites became weary of yielding the fruit of their labor to pamper their splendid tyrants. They left their political woes. They separated. Where is our Moses? Where the rod of his miracles? Where is our Aaron? Alas! No voice from the burning bush has directed them here.'

"The Hartford Convention, having thus announced that there were such serious conflicts of interest between the commercial and agricultural States, the maritime and the inland, as to threaten a permanent calamity to the States of New England, proceeded to announce the remedy for the evil. The remedy proposed was precisely that suggested by the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions. The Convention said: 'That acts of Congress in violation of the Constitution are absolutely void is an undeniable position. It does not, however, consist with the respect from a confederate State towards the General Government to fly to open resistance upon every refraction of the Constitution. The mode and the energy of the opposition should always conform to the nature of the violation, the intention of the authors, the extent of the evil inflicted, the determination manifested to persist in it, and the danger of delay. But in cases of deliberate, dangerous, and palpable infrac-

tions of the Constitution, *affecting the sovereignty of a State* and the liberties of the people, it is not only the right, but the duty, of such State to interpose its authority for their protection in the manner best calculated to secure that end. When emergencies occur which are either beyond the reach of judicial tribunals, or too pressing to admit of delay incident to their form, STATES WHICH HAVE NO COMMON UMPIRE MUST BE THEIR OWN JUDGES AND EXECUTE THEIR OWN DECISIONS.'"⁴

From all of which it is thus most conclusively shown that it was New England that rocked the cradle in the first secession and nullification movement; and that, in this treasonable project, Boston was the bell-wether of all.

Regarding which Mr. Hodgson further says:

"Is it surprising that this partial, selfish, clannish spirit of sectionalism, which planted itself boldly on the extremest doctrines of State rights, should arouse a counteracting spirit in the people of the Gulf States, and lead them to assert the sovereignty of their rightful State laws over every inch of their territory?"⁵

And thus it is conclusively shown that New England originated the first secession movement, and that the cotton States in 1860 followed only the precedent set by New England in the War of 1812.

But it must be said, to the everlasting credit of New England, that she has wrought a mighty change since the War of 1812; for at that time she had become the most intolerant community in all the world, and her statutes consisted largely of her code of "Blue Laws." Under these, she even arrested Washington for riding peaceably along the highway on Sunday. And New England is now the most tolerant of all communities, and is thoroughly imbued with a glorious spirit of patriotism.

⁴"The Cradle of the Confederacy," p. 62 *et seq.* ⁵*Ibid.*, p. 69.

CHAPTER V.

THE CAUSE OF AMERICA'S GREATEST AND DEADLIEST WAR.

In order that the motives of the American soldiers and sailors in the Battle of Shiloh may be fully understood and appreciated, it is highly necessary to ascertain the true cause of that war.

Somehow or other (and it is exceedingly difficult to tell why), it is still generally believed that Slavery was the cause of America's Great War. And yet, notwithstanding this very general belief, it is easily to be shown that Slavery was not the direct cause thereof, but that it was the old and pernicious doctrine of State Rights, State Sovereignty. For the forty years next following the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, it was the general belief throughout the land that any one of the several States had a perfect right to withdraw from the Union whenever it thought its own rights would be promoted by so doing. Madison, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and nearly all the foremost men of their times, each and all so held. But in later years this belief began gradually and slowly to change, till the arrival of 1860, when a large majority of the people (at least of the North) became thoroughly convinced that no State had an inherent right to secede from the Union.

That Slavery was not the cause of the war is conclusively shown by both the deeds and acts of our lamented Lincoln.

When Mr. Lincoln was first inaugurated President of the United States, he took an oath to support the Constitution, which recognized Slavery; and he took this oath of office without any mental reservations whatever. And inasmuch as he then became Commander-in-chief of both the Army and

Navy thereof, he must have known the purpose for which he began and waged the Great War. This is too plain for argument. And in his open letter to Horace Greeley, August 22, 1862, he says:

“As to the policy I ‘seem to be pursuing,’ I have not meant to leave anyone in doubt.

I would save the Union.

I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be the Union as it was.

“If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *destroy* Slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to *save* the Union; and it is not to either *save* or *destroy* Slavery.

“If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that!”

Surely, it absolutely impossible for human language to express a purpose plainer than that.

Furthermore, in his letter to General Worth, of North Carolina, President Lincoln says:

“MY DEAR WORTH: You must hold the Union men of the South together at all hazards. The one passion of my soul is to save the Union. In answer to the question you ask me about the equality of the races, I enclose you a newspaper clipping reporting my reply to Judge Douglas at Charleston, Illinois, September 18, 1858.

“I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about the social and political equality of the white and black races. I am not now, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to marry with white people. In addition to this, I will say there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races from living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they can not so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and

inferior, and I am, as much as any other man, in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.”⁶

From all of which it may be readily seen that President Lincoln did not wage the war for the purpose of freeing the slaves, or to qualify them to vote or hold office; but that he waged it for the sole purpose of saving the Union.

⁶See “The Leopard’s Spots,” pp. 67-68.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNION ARMY.

In order for all civilians fully to understand the meaning of the military terms herein employed, it may be stated that, like all besides, an army always consists of units, and that the company is the unit of the army.

During the war of the Great Rebellion, ten companies constituted a regiment of Infantry, and were designated by the first ten letters of the alphabet (omitting the letter J).

Two or more regiments formed a brigade; two or more brigades formed a division; two or more divisions formed a corps; and two or more corps formed an army, which also had at least one brigade of Cavalry, Artillery, and an Engineer and Pioneer corps.

Each company of Infantry was provided with one captain, one first and one second lieutenant, known as commissioned officers; one orderly sergeant, four other sergeants, and eight corporals.

Each regiment of Infantry was entitled to one colonel, one lieutenant colonel, one major, one adjutant, one surgeon and one assistant surgeon, one chaplain, and a non-commissioned staff consisting of one sergeant major, one quartermaster sergeant, one chief musician, one hospital steward, and one bugler.

The Cavalry regiments consisted of twelve companies, designated by the first twelve letters of the alphabet (omitting J). Each Cavalry regiment was entitled to one colonel, one major for each battalion, one surgeon and one assistant surgeon for each battalion, one quartermaster for each battalion, and one chaplain, termed commissioned officers; one sergeant major for each battalion, one hospital steward for each bat-

talion, one chief bugler for each battalion, one veterinary surgeon, and one saddler.

The Light Artillery was organized in units called companies (or batteries), twelve of which formed a regiment. But a whole regiment of either Cavalry or Artillery was seldom all together at one place.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MILITARY SITUATION AT THE TIME OF THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

In order fully to understand the vast importance of the great Battle of Shiloh, it is necessary briefly to recall, lest it be forgotten, the whole military situation which then prevailed everywhere throughout our then distracted land; for, while this situation was apparent to all at that time, yet the present and subsequent generations know, and can know, but very little about the gloom which then everywhere prevailed.

Let us then recall that, for many years next prior to the war, the far South had been proclaiming from every housetop that one Southern soldier could easily put to flight at least twelve from the North. And this boasting had been continued for a sufficient length of time to convince many people of the Gulf States of its truthfulness.

But the truthfulness of this boasting was never brought to an actual test till July, 1861, when the first Battle of Bull Run was fought, this being the first great pitched battle of the war, when and where the Union army was disgracefully routed, horse, foot, and dragoon, by an inferior force from the South, and everywhere fled to parts unknown. And if the world had only been large enough, so they always could have fled farther and still farther away from that scene of conflict, it is to be believed they would be running yet.

And so it came about that, at the very first test of the truthfulness of this boasting, it seemed to have been proven true.

And thus it was that from the bitter ashes of Bull Run arose a vast canopy of gloom, which completely enveloped the loyal people of all America from sea to sea.

And it should constantly be kept in mind that this most fearful cloud of gloom alone, always charged with dire distrust, continued to envelop our whole beloved land from Bull Run to Shiloh; and that, everywhere throughout the loyal section of the Union, with white lips and bated breath, both men and women, each to other, were whispering: "The foe! they come! they come!"

Bear well in mind, my friends, that these, and these alone, were the sole surroundings which everywhere prevailed from Bull Run onward till April 6-7, when it was forever dispelled by the Battle of Shiloh.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MILITARY LINES.

In order fully to understand the vast importance of the great Battle of Shiloh, it is necessary to recall the general military situation in the West at the beginning of the year 1862, when the enemy was practically in command of all the territory south of the Ohio River.

The First Line of Defense.

The enemy had then established a line of defense, beginning at Columbus, Kentucky, twenty-five miles below Cairo, and extending eastward to Forts Heiman and Henry, on the Tennessee River, and thence to Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, and thence onward to Bowling Green, Kentucky, and Virginia.

But early in February, 1862, General Grant obtained permission of General Halleck, commanding the Department of the Mississippi, with headquarters at St. Louis, to move onward from Cairo up the Ohio to Paducah and assail this first line of defense at Forts Henry and Heiman, on the Tennessee River, and also at Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River.

In pursuance thereof, General Grant first moved with the Army of the Tennessee from Cairo up the Ohio to Paducah, Kentucky, and thence up the Tennessee River, and captured Forts Henry and Heiman on the 6th of February. Thereupon he marched across the peninsula and captured Fort Donelson on the 17th, together with more than 13,000 prisoners of war, 20,000 stands of arms, 46 field and 17 siege guns.

This severed the enemy's first line of defense.

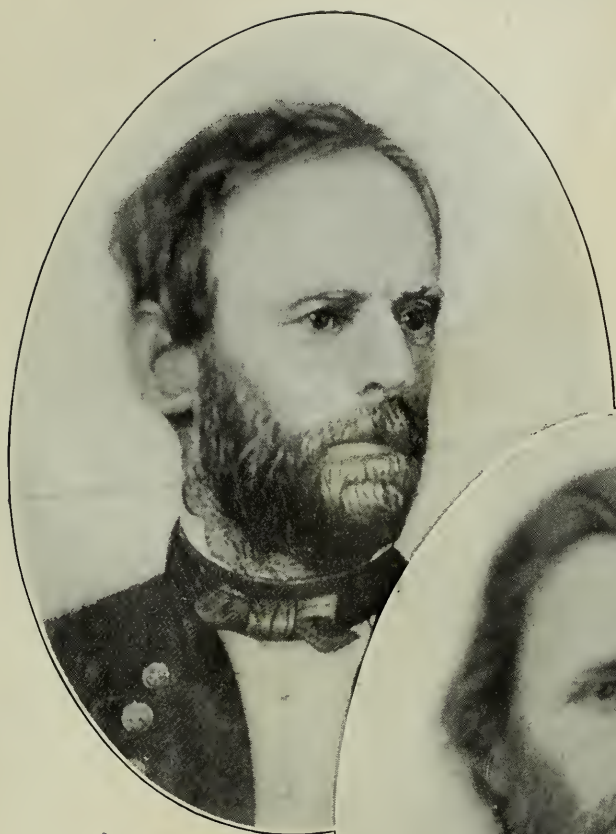
The Second Line of Defense.

Immediately after the fall of Fort Donelson, Albert Sid-

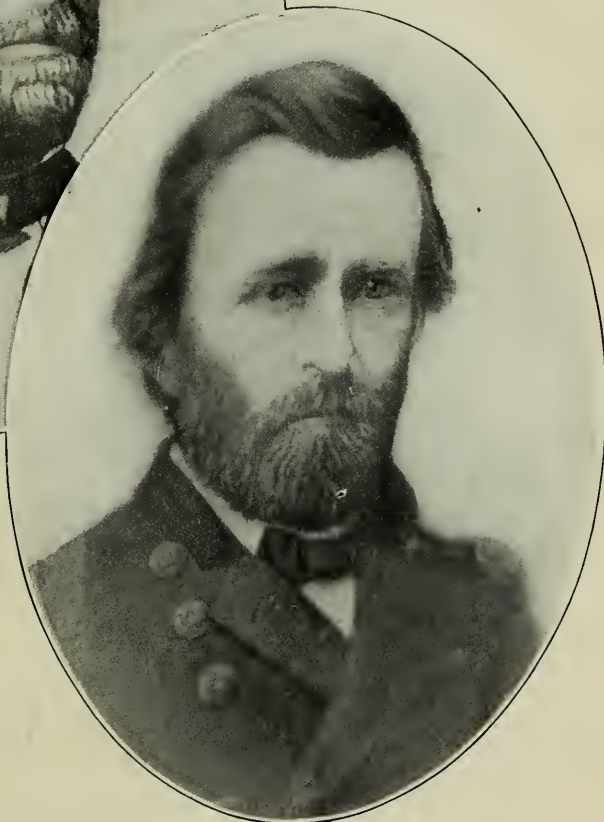
ney Johnston, the senior officer in the field of all the active officers of the Confederacy, then commanding the department, successfully accomplished his retreat from Bowling Green under many difficulties, and rapidly concentrated all his remaining forces along the Memphis & Charleston Railroad between Murfreesboro, Corinth, and Memphis. This second line of defense began at Fort Pillow and circled to Memphis, Tennessee, 250 miles below Cairo, following the Memphis & Charleston Railroad eastward to Corinth, Mississippi, where it crossed the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, and then extended eastward to Murfreesboro and onward to Virginia.⁷

Hence, in the next place, it then became necessary to assail this second line of defense.

⁷"The Battle of Shiloh," by T. W. Reed, p. 11.



GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.



GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

CHAPTER IX.

THE INTERMEDDLING OF GENERAL HALLECK.

The fall of Forts Heiman, Henry, and Donelson compelled the evacuation of Nashville by the Confederates, which was soon occupied by the Army of the Ohio, commanded by General Buell.

Soon after the capture of Fort Donelson, General Grant left his own command for the purpose of conferring with General Buell at Nashville, without having obtained permission so to do from General Halleck; and it appears that General Halleck took exception thereto, for he soon removed General Grant from command of the forces operating along the Tennessee River and assigned General C. F. Smith to the command thereof, and ordered General Grant to return to Fort Henry and await further orders.

Hence General Charles F. Smith, who had been in command of the post at Paducah, directed General Sherman to move up the Tennessee River from Paducah, and General Sherman soon embarked his division on steamboats at Paducah and proceeded to Fort Henry, where he arrived on the 9th day of March, 1862, and reached Savannah, Tennessee, on the 11th. In pursuance of orders from General Smith, he moved on up the Tennessee and landed troops at the mouth of Yellow Creek, Mississippi, and sent forward both infantry and cavalry to cut the Memphis & Charleston Railroad at Burnsville. But his object was defeated by high water. March 16th he dropped back to Pittsburg Landing and sent forth a force to destroy the railroad from this point. March 19th he bivouacked two miles and a half from the Landing, and made a strong reconnaissance on the 24th to Pea Ridge, some ten miles toward Corinth, and then fell back to the

Landing, and submitted a report to General Smith at his headquarters in Savannah.

The gunboats preceded General Sherman's expedition up the river, went on to Florence, Alabama, and then dropped back. As they were passing Pittsburg Landing the gunboat *Tyler* was fired on by a Confederate battery located on the high bluff, whereupon Commander Gwin returned the fire and landed two companies of the 32d Illinois, who charged the battery, losing one man killed and three wounded.⁸

But, in going aboard a steamer at Donelson, General Smith encountered a bad fall, seriously lacerating one of his legs, which soon proved to be a fatal injury. He was carried off his boat at Savannah, kept getting worse, and he died in the Cherry mansion three days after the battle.⁹

It may thus be seen that General Charles F. Smith is entitled to the credit for selecting the site for the Battle of Shiloh, and for the location of the camps of the five divisions at Pittsburg Landing.

But General Halleck finally relaxed in his effort to interfere with General Grant, and restored Grant to command of the Army of the Tennessee, and he arrived at Savannah and established his headquarters in the Cherry mansion on March 17, 1862. On the following Sunday he ran up to Pittsburg Landing and held a grand review of the forces there, and thus, for the first time, became responsible for all that occurred till the arrival of General Halleck.

⁸See "The Battle of Shiloh," by T. W. Reed, p. 8. ⁹*Ibid.*

CHAPTER X.

PITTSBURG LANDING.

Pittsburg Landing is located on the east bank of the Tennessee River, in Hardin County, Tennessee, about 150 miles east of Memphis, the metropolis of that State.

The Tennessee River is formed by the junction of two main branches, one of which, known as the Clinch River, rises in Virginia, and the other, formerly called Broad River, rises in North Carolina, near King's Mountain, and the two branches unite some forty miles east of Knoxville, Tennessee, thus forming the Tennessee River. But, by act of the Legislature of Tennessee, the name of the French Broad was changed to Tennessee. It is navigable for steamboats 150 miles east of Knoxville, and it was these rivers which blazed the way from east to west for Daniel Boone and the early settlers of Kentucky and Tennessee. After their junction, forming the Tennessee River, the latter runs in a general southwesterly direction till reaching Guntersville, Alabama, where it abruptly changes its course and wheels northwest till crossing back into Tennessee, then running due north to Paducah, Kentucky, where it enters the Ohio River. The last 150 miles of this distance the Tennessee runs parallel with the Mississippi, but always in exactly the opposite direction.

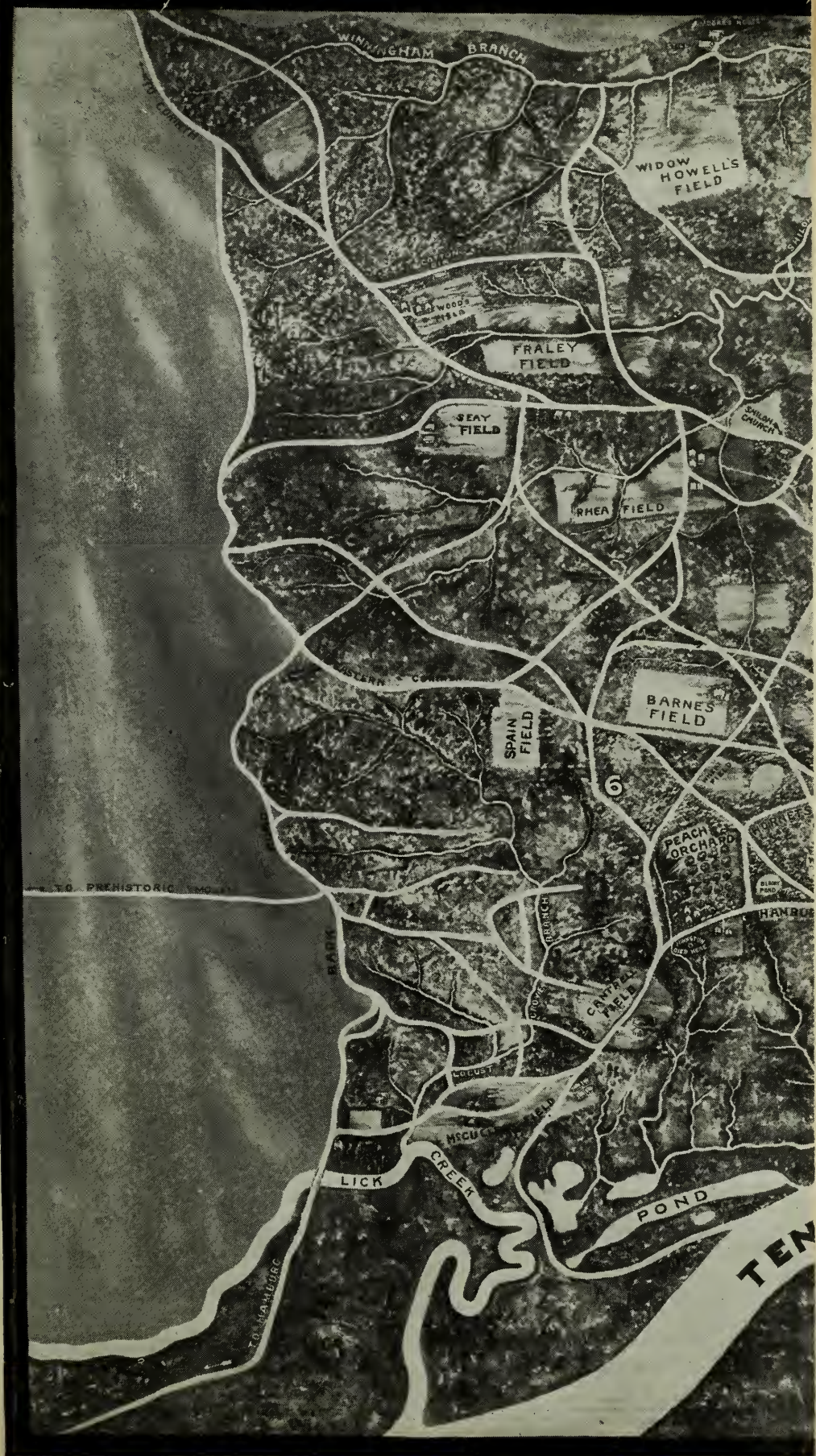
Corinth is situated twenty-one miles southeast of Pittsburg Landing, at the crossing of the Memphis & Charleston and the Mobile & Ohio railroads, and seventeen miles distant from Shiloh Church and the advance pickets of the Army of the Tennessee on April 6, 1862.

It may thus be seen that, on the morning of the day before the Battle of Shiloh began, the advance of the Confederate army was only an easy march of one day. And its

total strength was estimated by General Halleck, commanding the department, at not far from 80,000 men, rank and file.

Just stop a moment and think of that!

But still more than this, as a matter of fact, the Confederate army was not at Corinth at that time, but, as will soon be shown, was then coiled in three solid lines of battle all around the front of the Union Army of the Tennessee. More than this, General Albert Sidney Johnston, the ablest commanding military officer of his day, was then and there holding his famous council of war, within rifle-shot of the Union lines, deeply planning to open the battle at the first peep of day on the morrow.



WINNINGHAM BRANCH

WIDOW HOWELL'S FIELD

FRALEY FIELD

SEAY FIELD

RHEA FIELD

BARNES FIELD

SPAIN FIELD

PEACH ORCHARD

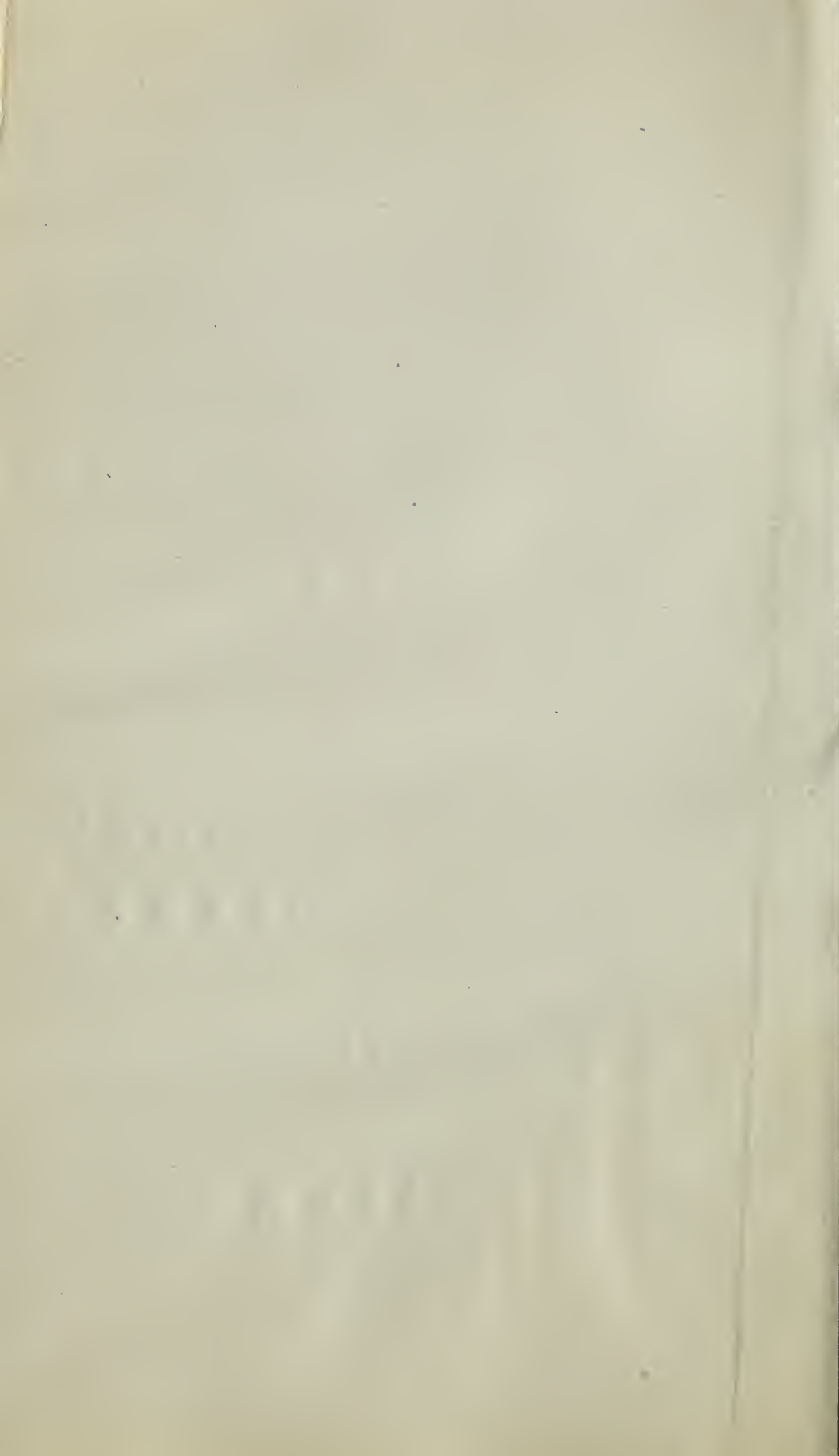
CAPPA FIELD

LICK CREEK

POND

TEN

TO PREHISTORIC MOUND



CHAPTER XI.

UNION COMMANDERS AT THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

General H. W. HALLECK:

He interferes with Grant.

General U. S. GRANT:

Born in Ohio, April 27, 1822.

Educated at West Point.

Graduated from West Point in 1843.

Served in the Mexican War.

Promoted to captain.

Retires to private life, and moves to Galena, Ill., in 1852.

Raises a company for the war.

Appointed colonel of the 21st Illinois.

Goes with the regiment to Northwest Missouri.

Promoted to brigadier general and assigned to Southeast Missouri District.

Establishes headquarters in St. Charles Hotel, Cairo, Ill.

Seizes Paducah, Kentucky.

Loses the Battle of Belmont.

Makes a lucky escape to gunboats.

Hurries up the Tennessee River.

Captures Forts Heiman, Henry, and Donelson.

Goes to Nashville without leave.

Relieved from command and ordered to Fort Henry.

Restored to command.

Reaches Savannah, Tennessee, April 17, 1862.

Promoted to lieutenant general and commands all armies of the United States.

General CHARLES F. SMITH:

Appointed to command the Army of the Tennessee.

Moves up the Tennessee River to Savannah, Tennessee,
and establishes headquarters in the Cherry mansion.
Established the camps of all divisions at Shiloh.
Dies in Cherry mansion soon after the Battle of Shiloh.

General W. T. SHERMAN:

Commands a brigade at the first Battle of Bull Run.
Commands the Fifth Division in the Battle of Shiloh.
Wounded in the battle, but retains command.
Three horses shot beneath him.
Wires Grant Saturday at midnight: "All quiet on front,
with no prospect of battle."
His division swept from the field.
Greatest strategist since Napoleon.

General STEPHEN A. HURLBUT:

Commands the Fourth Division at Shiloh.
Repels seven charges in the Peach Orchard.
Retreats before the advance of two corps of the enemy.
Falls back to the Siege-gun Battery.
Forms the Siege-gun Battery line.
Ordered to command all troops in line by General Grant.
Repels four successive charges by Bragg and wins the
great Battle of Shiloh.
Makes a fearful charge at Jones Field on Monday.
Goes to the relief of McClernand.
Orders the last charge in the Battle of Shiloh, which puts
the enemy to flight.
Issues congratulatory order to the Fourth Division.
Promoted to command the District of Memphis.
Commands the Fourth Division in the Battle of "Hell on
the Hatchie."
Commands the Department with headquarters in New
Orleans.
Issues final farewell order.

General JOHN A. McCLEARNAND, of Springfield, Illinois:

Commission as major general bears same date as that of Grant.

At Forts Henry and Donelson.

Commands the First Division at Shiloh.

General W. H. L. WALLACE, of Ottawa, Illinois:

Served with General Taylor in the war with Mexico.

Served with Grant at Belmont.

At Fort Donelson.

Commands the Second Division at Shiloh.

Mortally wounded at Shiloh.

Dies in the Cherry mansion at Savannah, Tennessee.

General LEW WALLACE:

Commands the Third Division on Monday at Shiloh.

Author of "Ben-Hur."

Should have "been there."

General B. M. PRENTISS:

Commands the Sixth Division at Shiloh.

Opens the Battle of Shiloh.

Checks the first assault of the enemy.

Orders Peabody to support Colonel Moore; the division is routed.

Finally captured in the Hornets' Nest.

CHAPTER XII.

UNION FORCES ENGAGED IN THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE, General U. S. Grant.

First Division, Major General John A. McClernand.

First Brigade, Colonel Abraham M. Hare, 11th Iowa (wounded); Colonel M. M. Crocker, 13th Iowa.

8th Illinois, Captain James M. Anderson (wounded); Captain William H. Harvey (killed); Captain Robert H. Sturgess.

18th Illinois, Major Samuel Eaton (wounded); Captain Daniel H. Brush (wounded); Captain William J. Dillon (killed); Captain Jabez J. Anderson.

11th Iowa, Lieutenant Colonel William Hall (wounded).

13th Iowa, Colonel M. M. Crocker.

Second Brigade, Colonel C. Carroll Marsh, 20th Illinois.

11th Illinois, Lieutenant Colonel T. F. G. Ransom (wounded); Major Garrett Nevins (wounded); Captain Lloyd D. Waddell.

20th Illinois, Lieutenant Colonel Evan Richards (wounded); Captain Orton Frisbie.

45th Illinois, Colonel John E. Smith.

48th Illinois, Colonel Isham N. Haynie (wounded); Major Manning Mayfield.

Third Brigade, Colonel Julius Raith (killed), 43d Illinois; Lieutenant Colonel Enos P. Wood, 17th Illinois.

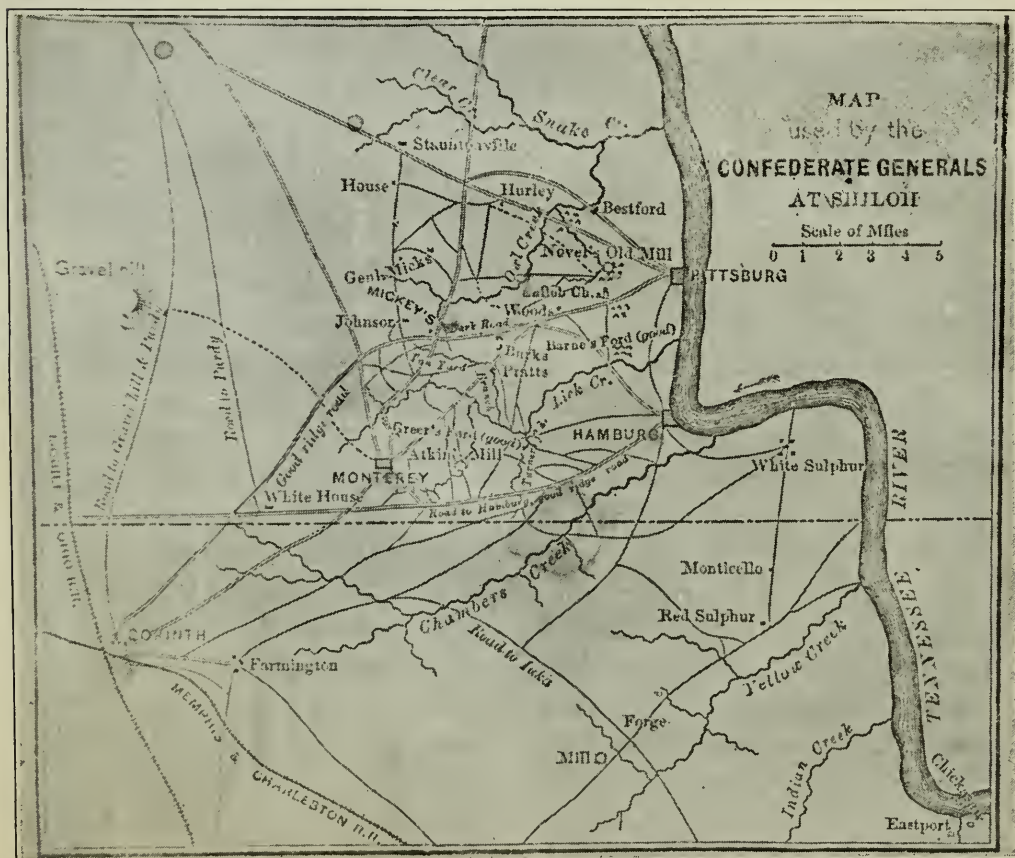
17th Illinois, Lieutenant Colonel E. P. Wood; Major Francis M. Smith.

29th Illinois, Lieutenant Colonel Charles M. Ferrell.

43rd Illinois, Lieutenant Colonel Adolph Engelman.



CONFEDERATE COUNCIL OF WAR NEAR PEACH ORCHARD.



49th Illinois, Lieutenant Colonel Phineas Pease (wounded).

Unattached.

Dresser's Battery I, 2nd Illinois Light Artillery, Captain James P. Timony.

McAllister's Battery I, 1st Illinois Light Artillery.

Schwatz' Battery E, 2nd Illinois Light Artillery.

Burrow's Battery, 14th Ohio Light Artillery, Captain Jerome B. Burrow.

Cavalry.

Carmichael's Illinois Cavalry, Captain Engleton Carmichael.

Stewart's Company Illinois Cavalry, Lieutenant Ezra King.

Second Division, Brigadier General W. H. L. Wallace (mortally wounded).

First Brigade, Colonel James L. Tuttle, 2nd Iowa.

2nd Iowa, Lieutenant Colonel James Baker.

7th Iowa, Lieutenant Colonel James C. Parrott.

12th Iowa, Colonel Joseph J. Woods (wounded and captured); Captain S. R. Edginton.

14th Iowa, Colonel William T. Shaw (captured).

Second Brigade, Brigadier General John McArthur (captured); Colonel Thomas Morton, 81st Ohio.

9th Illinois, Colonel August Morey.

12th Illinois, Lieutenant Colonel A. L. Chatlain; Captain James R. Hugunin.

13th Missouri, Colonel Craft J. Wright.

14th Missouri, Colonel Thomas Morton.

Third Brigade, Colonel Thomas W. Sweeney (wounded); Colonel Silas D. Baldwin, 57th Illinois.

8th Iowa, Colonel James L. Geddes (wounded).

7th Illinois, Major Richard Rowett.

50th Illinois, Colonel Moses Bane (wounded).

52nd Illinois, Major Henry Stark; Captain Edwin A. Bowen.

57th Illinois, Colonel Silas D. Baldwin; Captain Gustav A. Busse.

58th Illinois, Colonel William P. Lynch (captured).

Artillery.

Willard's Battery A, 1st Illinois Light Artillery.

Major Cavender's Battery, Missouri Artillery.

Richardson's Battery D, 1st Missouri Light Artillery, Captain Henry Richardson.

Welker's Battery H, 1st Missouri Light Artillery, Captain Fred Welker.

Stone's Battery K, 1st Missouri Light Artillery, Captain George H. Stone.

Cavalry.

Company A, 2nd Illinois, Captain J. R. Hoteling.

Company B, 2nd Illinois, Captain T. J. Larison.

Company C, 2nd United States.

Company I, 4th United States, Captain James Powell.¹⁰

Third Division, Major General Lew Wallace
(not engaged Sunday).

First Brigade, Colonel Morgan L. Smith.

8th Missouri.

11th Indiana.

24th Indiana.

Second Brigade, Colonel John M. Thayer.

4th Nebraska.

22nd Indiana.

58th Ohio.

68th Ohio.

Third Brigade, Colonel Charles Whittlesey.

20th Ohio.

56th Ohio.

¹⁰Major Reed's "The Battle of Shiloh," p. 25.

76th Ohio.

78th Ohio.

Not Brigaded.

Battery I, 1st Missouri Light Artillery.

9th Indiana Battery.

3rd Battery, 5th Ohio Cavalry.

3rd Battery, 11th Illinois Cavalry.¹¹

Fourth Division, Major General Stephen A. Hurlbut.

First Brigade, Colonel N. G. Williams (wounded); Colonel Isaac Pugh.

3rd Iowa, Colonel N. G. Williams (wounded); Major William Stone (captured); Lieutenant G. W. Crosley.

28th Illinois, Colonel Amory K. Johnson.

32nd Illinois, Colonel John Logan (wounded).

41st Illinois, Colonel Isaac C. Pugh; Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Tupper (killed); Captain John M. H. Nale.

Second Brigade, Colonel James C. Veatch, 25th Indiana.

14th Illinois, Colonel Cyrus Hall.

15th Illinois, Lieutenant Colonel E. F. W. Ellis (killed); Captain Louis D. Kelly; Lieutenant Colonel William Cam, 14th Illinois.

40th Illinois, Colonel John A. Davis (wounded); Lieutenant Colonel John L. Jones.

25th Indiana, Lieutenant Colonel William M. Morgan (wounded); Major J. Foster.

Third Brigade, Brigadier General Jacob G. Lauman.

31st Indiana, Colonel Charles Cruft (wounded); Lieutenant Colonel John Osborn.

44th Indiana, Colonel Hugh B. Reed.

17th Kentucky, Colonel John B. McHenry, Jr.

25th Kentucky, Lieutenant Colonel B. F. Bristow; Major William B. Wall (wounded); Captain B. T. Underwood; Colonel John H. McHenry, Jr.

¹¹10 Rebellion Records, p. 102.

Artillery.

Ross' Battery, 2nd Michigan Light Artillery, Lieutenant Cuthbert W. Laing.

Mann's Battery C, 1st Missouri Light Artillery, Lieutenant Edward Brotzman.

Myers' Battery, 13th Ohio Light Artillery, John B. Myers.

Cavalry.

1st and 2nd Battalions, 5th Ohio Cavalry.

Fifth Division, Brigadier General W. T. Sherman (wounded).

First Brigade, Colonel John A. McDowell (wounded).

40th Illinois, Colonel Stephen G. Hicks (wounded); Lieutenant Colonel James W. Boothe.

6th Iowa, Captain John Williams (wounded); Captain Madison Walden.

46th Ohio, Colonel Thomas Worthington.

Second Brigade, Colonel David Stewart (wounded); Lieutenant Colonel Oscar Malborg, temporarily commanding; Colonel T. Kilby Smith, 54th Ohio.

55th Illinois, Colonel Oscar Malborg.

54th Ohio, Colonel T. Kilby Smith; Lieutenant Colonel James A. Farden.

71st Ohio, Colonel Rodney Mason.

Third Brigade, Colonel Jesse Hildebrand, 77th Ohio.

53rd Ohio, Colonel Jesse J. Appler; Lieutenant Colonel Robert A. Fulton.

57th Ohio, Lieutenant Colonel Americus V. Rice.

77th Ohio, Lieutenant Colonel Willis De Hass; Major Benjamin D. Pearing.

Fourth Brigade, Colonel Ralph Buckland, 72nd Ohio.

48th Ohio, Colonel Peter J. Sullivan (wounded); Lieutenant Colonel Job R. Parker.

70th Ohio, Colonel Joseph R. Cockerill.

72nd Ohio, Lieutenant Colonel Herman Canfield (killed);
Colonel Ralph P. Buckland.

Artillery, Major Ezra Taylor, Chief of Artillery.

Taylor's Battery B, 1st Illinois Light Artillery.

Waterhouse's Battery E, 1st Illinois Light Artillery, Captain Allen C. Waterhouse (wounded); Lieutenant Abiel R. Abbott (wounded); Lieutenant John A. Fitch.

Morton's Battery, 6th Indiana Light Artillery, Captain Frederick Behr (killed).

Cavalry.

2nd Battalion, 4th Illinois Cavalry, Colonel T. Lyle Dickey.

Thielman's 2 Companies Illinois Cavalry, Captain Christian Thielman.¹²

Sixth Division, Brigadier General Benjamin Prentiss,
of Illinois (captured).

First Brigade, Colonel Everett Peabody (killed), 25th Michigan.

12th Michigan, Colonel Frank Quinn.

21st Missouri, Colonel David Moore (wounded); Lieutenant Colonel H. M. Woodyard.

25th Missouri, Lieutenant Colonel Robert T. Van Horn.

16th Wisconsin, Colonel Benjamin Allen (wounded).

Second Brigade, Colonel Madison Miller, 18th Missouri (captured).

61st Illinois, Colonel Jacob Fry.

18th Missouri, Lieutenant Colonel Isaac V. Pratt (captured).

18th Wisconsin, Colonel James S. Alban (killed).

Not Brigaded.

16th Iowa, Colonel Alexander Chambers (killed); Lieutenant Colonel Addison H. Sanders.

15th Iowa, Colonel Hugh T. Reid (wounded).

¹²Major Reed's "The Battle of Shiloh," p. 28.

23rd Missouri (part of battle), Colonel Isaac T. Tindall (wounded); Lieutenant Colonel Quin Morton (captured).

Artillery.

Hickenlooper's Battery, 5th Ohio Light Artillery.

Munch's Battery, Minnesota Light Artillery, Captain

Emil Munch (killed); Lieutenant William Pisender.

Cavalry.

1st and 2nd Battalions, 11th Illinois Cavalry, Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll.

Unassigned Troops.

15th Michigan, Colonel John M. Oliver.

14th Wisconsin, Colonel David E. Wood.

Battery H, 1st Illinois Light Artillery.

Battery I, 1st Illinois Light Artillery, Captain Edward Bouton.

Battery B, 2nd Illinois Light Artillery, Siege Guns, Captain John W. Powell (killed).

Battery F, 2nd Illinois Light Artillery, Captain John W. Powell (killed).

8th Battery, Ohio Light Artillery, Captain Louis Markgraf.¹³

ARMY OF THE OHIO, Major General Don Carlos Buell.

Don Carlos Buell was born in 1818; he was educated at West Point, and served in the Florida Indian and Mexican wars. This command was marching through from Nashville and did not arrive at Pittsburg Landing till after the fighting had ceased on Sunday, although Buell in person was on the field at about 3 p. m. Wood's Division did not arrive in time to be engaged. And nearly all the Artillery had to be left at Savannah, on account of bad roads.

Second Division, Brigadier General A. McDowell McCook.

Fourth Brigade, Brigadier General L. H. Rosseau.

15th U. S. Infantry, 1st Battalion.

¹³Major Reed's "The Battle of Shiloh," pp. 28-29.

16th U. S. Infantry, 1st Battalion.

19th U. S. Infantry, 1st Battalion.

1st Ohio Infantry.

6th Indiana Infantry.

5th Kentucky Infantry.

Fifth Brigade, Colonel E. L. Kirk (wounded).

77th Pennsylvania Infantry.

29th Indiana Infantry.

30th Indiana Infantry.

34th Illinois Infantry.

Sixth Brigade, Colonel W. H. Gibson.

15th Ohio Infantry.

49th Ohio Infantry.

32nd Indiana Infantry.

39th Indiana Infantry.

5th U. S. Artillery, Battery H.

Fourth Division, Brigadier General William Nelson.

Tenth Brigade, Colonel Jacob Ammen.

6th Ohio Infantry.

24th Ohio Infantry.

36th Indiana Infantry.

Nineteenth Brigade, Colonel William B. Hazen.

6th Kentucky Infantry.

9th Indiana Infantry.

41st Ohio Infantry.

Twentieth Brigade, Colonel S. D. Bruce.

1st Kentucky Infantry.

2nd Kentucky Infantry.

20th Kentucky Infantry.

2nd Indiana Cavalry (not engaged except as orderlies).

Fourth Division, Brigadier General T. L. Crittenden.

Eleventh Brigade, Brigadier General A. T. Boyle.

19th Ohio Infantry.

59th Ohio Infantry.

9th Kentucky Infantry.

13th Kentucky Infantry.

Fourteenth Brigade, Colonel W. S. Smith.

13th Ohio Infantry.

11th Kentucky Infantry.

20th Kentucky Infantry.

Not Brigaded.

3rd Kentucky Cavalry.

1st Ohio Light Artillery, Battery G.

4th U. S. Artillery, Batteries H and M.

Sixth Division, Brigadier General T. L. Wood (not engaged).

64th Ohio Infantry.

65th Ohio Infantry.

13th Michigan Infantry.

51st Indiana Infantry.

Twenty-first Brigade, Colonel G. D. Wagner.

15th Indiana Infantry.

40th Indiana Infantry.

57th Indiana Infantry.

24th Kentucky Infantry.¹⁴

¹⁴10 Rebellion Records, pp. 104-107.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONFEDERATE COMMANDERS AT THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

General ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON, the Commander-in-chief, was then the senior commanding officer of the so-called Confederacy; he was born in Kentucky, February 2, 1803, the youngest son of Dr. John Johnston, one of the earliest settlers of Washington, in Mason County, which then embraced the whole eastern end of Kentucky.

General Albert Sidney Johnston was educated at West Point, from which he graduated April 24, 1826, and was commissioned by John Quincy Adams as second lieutenant, and soon went to Jefferson Barracks, and thence into the Black Hawk War in Illinois, where he first met Abraham Lincoln, afterward President of the United States. During the struggle of Texas for independence, he resigned his commission in the United States Army and went to Texas and became Secretary of State of the Republic of Texas. He remained there till our war with Mexico, when he resigned and was appointed Inspector General of the United States Army by President Taylor. After the close of the Mexican War, he was appointed colonel of the famous Second U. S. Cavalry, which furnished more general officers on both sides in the Civil War than any other organization, among whom was Robert E. Lee, afterward commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, who was a lieutenant colonel in the Second Cavalry. In 1847 General Scott appointed Albert Sidney Johnston to the command of the army sent to subdue the Mormons in Utah, this being the very last military movement of importance before the outbreak of the Civil War. This gave General Johnston superior knowledge to all others for service in the war of the Great Rebellion. He was selected by General

Scott to command the Department of the Pacific and established his headquarters in San Francisco. At the outbreak of the Civil War, General Scott was very anxious to secure the services of Johnston, and tendered him the command of the whole army, subject only to the orders of himself and the President. But Johnston being of Southern birth, and as Twiggs turned traitor and surrendered all the Federal troops under his command to the Rebels, Johnston was regarded with suspicion by many, and Lincoln was notified of a plot to turn over to the Confederacy the Department of the Pacific, and sent secret emissaries to San Francisco to watch Johnston; finally General E. V. Sumner was sent on to relieve Johnston from command.¹⁵ On being informed of this, Johnston became deeply offended, or pretended to be.

But immediately after Johnston was thus relieved he left clandestinely on horseback, evaded pursuit, traveled through California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas, and in due time reported to Jefferson Davis at Richmond, who appointed him Commander-in-chief of all the Confederate forces in the field. And thus it was the Union Army lost the services of Albert Sidney Johnston, the brightest military man in the United States.

General BRAXTON BRAGG was born in Georgia in 1817 and educated at the Military School at West Point by the Government he did his utmost to destroy. He served as captain of a battery in the Mexican War, and became famous for his compliance with the order, "A little more grape, Captain Bragg." Soon after the firing on Fort Sumter, he organized and drilled a large force near Mobile, Alabama, and reinforced Johnston at Corinth, where he was appointed chief of staff, and also to the command of the Second Corps. He was present at the council of war held in the timber the night before the Battle

¹⁵Chapter XVI., Life of Albert Sidney Johnston by Preston Johnston.

of Shiloh began, and commanded the flanking move of the Confederates, and made the last charges on the Siege-gun Battery line, as elsewhere fully shown.

Major General LEONIDAS POLK was born in 1806, in Georgia, educated at West Point, and promoted to lieutenant colonel in the war with Mexico. He was Bishop of Louisiana at the outbreak of the Rebellion, and then entered the Confederate Army and superintended the erection of the forts at Columbus, Kentucky, and succeeded in defeating General Grant in the Battle of Belmont. He commanded the First Confederate Corps in the Battle of Shiloh, and was present at the Confederate council of war held within rifle-shot of the Peach Orchard on Saturday night before the battle. He was killed before Atlanta, Georgia, in July, 1864.

Major General WILLIAM J. HARDEE was born in Georgia in 1817, and educated at West Point, New York, the hot-bed of treason. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in the war with Mexico, and in 1856 he published for the Government his great work generally known as Hardee's "Tactics," which was in general use by all the Union and Confederate armies. Entering the service of the enemy in 1861, he was promoted to major general and commanded at Pensacola, whence he reinforced General Albert Sidney Johnston at Corinth, and commanded the Third Confederate Corps at the Battle of Shiloh, and was present at Johnston's council of war held within rifle-shot of the Peach Orchard at noon of night just before the battle opened.

Brigadier General JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE was born in Kentucky in 1821, and educated at West Point. He was elected Vice-President on the ticket with Buchanan in 1856, the youngest man ever elected to that office. He was a

member of the United States Senate in 1861, and was expelled therefrom for treason; he joined the Confederate forces and reinforced Johnston at Corinth, commanding the Fourth Confederate Corps, known as the Reserve, and was present at Johnston's council of war held near the bloody Peach Orchard.

ISHAM G. HARRIS was Governor of Tennessee from 1857 to 1861. He served as a volunteer aide on Johnston's staff at the Battle of Shiloh, and was present at the Confederate council of war. He died July 8, 1897.

Colonel THEODORE O'HARA was Inspector General on Johnston's staff at the Battle of Shiloh, and accompanied the remains of A. S. Johnston to Corinth and New Orleans. He is the famous author of "The Bivouac of the Dead," the greatest military poem ever written.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONFEDERATE FORCES ENGAGED IN THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

FIRST CORPS, Major General Leonidas Polk.

First Division, Brigadier General Charles Clark.

First Brigade, Colonel R. M. Russell.

1st Louisiana Infantry.
12th Tennessee Infantry.
13th Tennessee Infantry.
22nd Tennessee Infantry.
Bankhead's Battery.

Second Brigade, Brigadier General A. P. Stewart.

13th Arkansas Infantry.
4th Tennessee Infantry.
5th Tennessee Infantry.
33rd Texas Infantry.
Sanford's Battery.

First Brigade, Brigadier General B. R. Johnson.

Mississippi Battalion (Blythe).
2nd Tennessee Infantry.
15th Tennessee Infantry.
154th Tennessee Infantry (senior).
Polk's Battery.

Third Brigade, Colonel W. H. Stephens.

7th Kentucky Infantry.
2nd Tennessee Infantry.
6th Tennessee Infantry.
9th Tennessee Infantry.
Smith's Battery.

SECOND CORPS, Major General Braxton Bragg.

First Division, Brigadier General Daniel Ruggles.

First Brigade, Colonel R. L. Gibson.

1st Arkansas Infantry.
4th Louisiana Infantry.
13th Louisiana Infantry.
19th Louisiana Infantry.
Bains' Battery.

Second Brigade, Brigadier General Patton Anderson.

1st Florida Battalion Infantry.
17th Louisiana Infantry.
20th Louisiana Infantry.
9th Texas Infantry.
Confederate Guards Response Battalion.
Hodgson's Battery.

Third Brigade, Colonel Preston Pound, Jr.

16th Louisiana Infantry.
18th Louisiana Infantry.
Crescent Louisiana Regiment Infantry.
38th Tennessee Infantry.
Ketchum's Battery.

Second Division, Brigadier General Jones M. Withers.

First Brigade, Brigadier General A. H. Gladden.

20th Alabama Infantry.
21st Alabama Infantry.
22nd Alabama Infantry.
25th Alabama Infantry.
Robertson's Battery.

Second Brigade, Brigadier General J. R. Chalmers.

7th Mississippi Infantry.
9th Mississippi Infantry.
10th Mississippi Infantry.
54th Mississippi Infantry.

51st Tennessee Infantry.

52nd Tennessee Infantry.

Gage's Battery.

Third Brigade, Brigadier General J. K. Jackson.

17th Alabama Infantry.

18th Alabama Infantry.

19th Alabama Infantry.

Alabama Battalion Infantry.

Arkansas Battalion Infantry.

2nd Texas Infantry.

Girardey's Battery.

THIRD CORPS, Major General W. J. Hardee.

First Brigade, Brigadier General T. C. Hindman.

2nd Alabama Infantry.

5th Arkansas Infantry.

6th Arkansas Infantry.

7th Arkansas Infantry.

3rd Confederate Infantry.

Miller's Battery.

Swett's Battery.

Second Brigade, Brigadier General P. R. Cleburne.

15th Alabama Infantry.

6th Mississippi Infantry.

35th Tennessee Infantry.

23rd Tennessee Infantry.

24th Tennessee Infantry.

Calvert's Battery.

Trigg's Battery.

Watson's Battery.

Third Brigade, Brigadier General S. A. M. Wood.

7th Alabama Infantry.

16th Alabama Infantry.

8th Arkansas Infantry.

9th Arkansas Battalion Infantry.

3rd Mississippi Battalion Infantry.
27th Tennessee Infantry.
44th Tennessee Infantry.
55th Tennessee Infantry.
Harper's Battery.

RESERVE CORPS, Brigadier General J. C. Breckinridge.

First Brigade, Colonel R. P. Trabue.

4th Alabama Battalion Infantry.
31st Alabama Infantry.
3rd Kentucky Infantry.
4th Kentucky Infantry.
5th Kentucky Infantry.
Crew's Tennessee Battalion Infantry.
Byrne's Battery.
Cobb's Battery.
Wharton's Texas Rangers.
McClung's Battery.

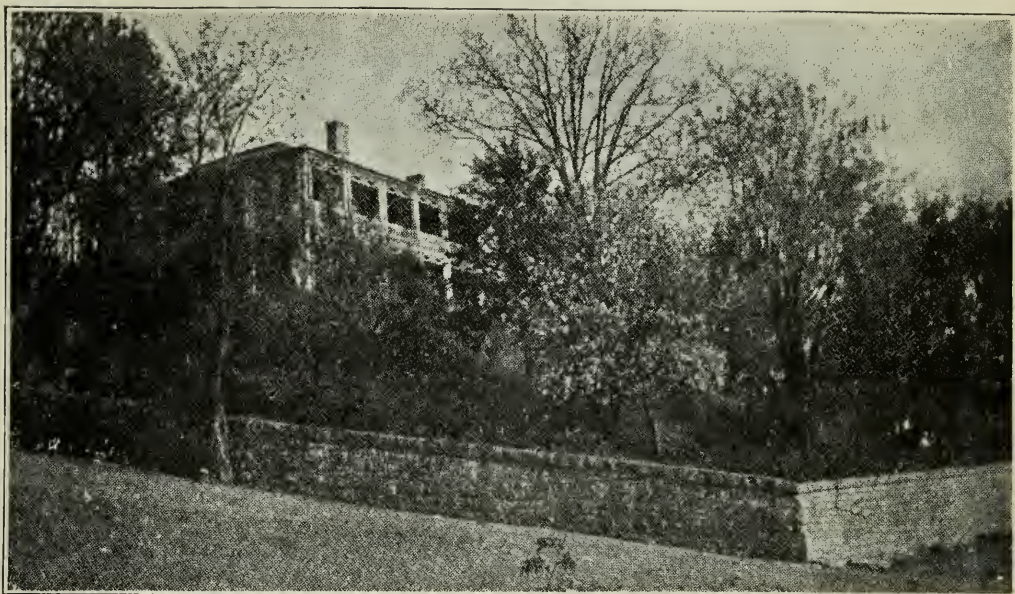
Second Brigade, Brigadier General J. S. Bowen.

9th Arkansas Infantry.
10th Arkansas Infantry.
2nd Confederate Infantry.
1st Missouri Infantry.
Hudson's Battery.

Third Brigade, Colonel W. S. Statham.

15th Mississippi Infantry.
22nd Mississippi Infantry.
19th Tennessee Infantry.
20th Tennessee Infantry.
28th Tennessee Infantry.
45th Tennessee Infantry.
Rutledge's Battery.¹⁶

¹⁶10 Rebellion Records, pp. 382-384.



GRANT'S HEADQUARTERS, SAVANNAH, TENN.



STEAMBOATS AT PITTSBURG LANDING.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ADVANCE OF THE CONFEDERATE FORCES FROM CORINTH.

As a matter of fact, General Albert Sidney Johnston, the Confederate Commander-in-chief, was fully informed and knew all about the advance of General Buell with the Army of the Ohio from Nashville to form a junction with General Grant's army at Pittsburg Landing; and he knew that, if he remained inactive at Corinth, he would soon be greatly outnumbered and compelled to fight both armies at one and the same time.

But Albert Sidney Johnston was a boy of twelve years when Napoleon died, and had made a lifelong study of the strategy employed by the great Corsican in Italy, Egypt, Austria, Sardinia, Germany, and Spain, where the great Napoleon had defeated in detail the Austrian army at Montebotte, and saw how, only three days afterward, his second success at Mollstimo had opened the Apennines and separated the armies of the enemy and compelled Austria and Sardinia to sue for peace.

Hence Albert Sidney Johnston resolved to profit by the example of the great Corsican and overthrow the inferior army under Grant at Shiloh before the arrival of Buell, then cross the Tennessee River with his victorious army, make short work of Buell, and then hasten onward unobstructed and cross the Ohio River, where there were untold thousands of sympathizers with the Confederate cause in southern Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, who would hasten to his standard; and as the East was already completely overawed by the first Battle of Bull Run, he could then and there dictate

peace to President Lincoln, just as Napoleon did to Austria and Sardinia.

Certainly, that was a most brilliantly conceived programme. Glorious indeed as the most captivating rainbow.

And hence it was that Albert Sidney Johnston, the Confederate Commander-in-chief at Corinth, resolved to strike at once for glory and renown.

Accordingly, on April 3, 1862, he issued and promulgated his order therefor, which contained the following:

"In the approaching battle, every effort should be made to turn the *left flank* of the enemy so as to cut off his line of retreat to the Tennessee River and force him back on Owl Creek, where he will be obliged to surrender."¹⁷

In pursuance of this order, preliminary orders were promulgated at 1 p. m. to hold the troops in readiness to move at a moment's notice with five days' rations and 100 rounds of ammunition.¹⁸

Hardee led the advance with the Third Corps the following afternoon, marching by the northern route, known as the Ridge road, which, near Shiloh Church, led into another road, known as the Bark road. He bivouacked that night on the way, and arrived at Mickey's the next morning, which is seven or eight miles from Corinth and four or five from Pittsburg Landing.

General Bragg, with the Second Corps, moved by the direct road through Monterey, the road proving so bad that the head of his column did not reach Monterey till 11 a. m. the next day, but bivouacked that night near Mickey's, in rear of Hardee's Corps.

"The First Corps, under Polk, consisting of Cheatham's and Clark's divisions, was ordered to follow on the Ridge road at interval of half an hour, and to halt near Mickey's to allow Bragg's Corps, whose route from Monterey crossed the Ridge road at that point, and to fall in behind Hardee at interval of 1,000 yards, and

¹⁷1 Rebellion Records, p. 397. ¹⁸10 *Ibid.*, p. 397.

to form the second line of battle. Polk's Corps to form the left wing, and Breckinridge's Reserve Corps the right wing.

"Polk's other division, under Cheatham, was on outpost duty near Bethel on the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, and was about as far from Mickey's as Corinth, and Cheatham was ordered to assemble at Purdy and pursue the route to Monterey. Under these instructions, Cheatham did not advance till the morning of the 5th, but effected junction at 4 that afternoon and took position on the left wing of Polk's Corps.¹⁹

"During this advance the enemy had several skirmishes with the pickets of both Prentiss and Sherman, and captured several prisoners and one officer, but finally formed in three solid lines of battle all around the Army of the Tennessee from Lick to Owl Creeks."

Therefrom it is conclusively shown that all four corps of the enemy were coiled like an anaconda all around the whole front of our forces at Shiloh at 4 p. m. on Saturday, within easy rifle-range of our pickets, at the very time Sherman was wiring Grant at Savannah:

*"I have scarcely the faintest idea of an attack."*²⁰

General Johnston had intended to fight the battle on Saturday, with the avowed intention of overthrowing Grant before the arrival of Buell, just as Napoleon overthrew the Austrians at Montenotte before the arrival of the Sardinian army. But heavy rains and bad roads frustrated his plan and compelled delay till Sunday morning.

The Famous Council of War.

Between 4 and 5 o'clock that afternoon (April 5th), Johnston held his now famous council of war.²¹ It was held in the woods at the cross-roads, less than two miles from General Sherman's headquarters at Shiloh Church, and within rifle-shot of Sherman's pickets. Those present at this council consisted of Johnston, Beauregard, Polk, Bragg, Hardee (represented by Gilmer), Breckinridge, and most of the staff officers.

¹⁹Life of Albert Sidney Johnston by Preston Johnston, p. 558. ²⁰10 Rebellion Records, pp. 90-92. ²¹Life of Albert Sidney Johnston, pp. 566-567.

At this council General Beauregard earnestly opposed fighting the battle at all, and favored the return of the army to Corinth, because he insisted that, beyond all question, Sherman had already been sufficiently warned by the repeated skirmishing by both infantry and artillery, so he could not be taken by surprise, but would be well protected by fortifications.

On the other hand, General Polk maintained that his troops were in as good condition for battle as they ever had been, and were eager therefor, and that a retirement to Corinth would operate injuriously on the morale of his men; and held in favor of attack.²²

After hearing and fully considering the opinions of all beside, General Johnston declared: "Gentlemen, we shall attack at daylight."

The council was then dispersed upon the invitation of the Commander-in-chief to meet at his tent again. At that meeting a further discussion elicited the same views, and the same decisive action by Johnston.

²²Life of Albert Sidney Johnston by Preston Johnson, p. 558.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE GREAT BATTLE OPENS.

Although General Sherman had not the "faintest idea of an attack," it was not so by any manner of means with General Prentiss, the commander of the Sixth Division, the junior division of all at Shiloh; for he seems to have kept one ear to the ground throughout all that eventful Saturday night, and never retired at all.

Just at 2 o'clock Sunday morning he ordered out three companies of the 25th Missouri, under Major Powell, to reconnoiter the front; and they advanced about one mile from camp and halted at the southeast corner of the Fraley field. This position was taken, as nearly as can be ascertained, between 3 and 4 o'clock a. m.

And at 3 o'clock General Prentiss also ordered out Colonel Moore, with five companies of the 21st Missouri, to the same point.²³

Just at 4:55 Major Powell discovered the enemy's pickets at the southwest corner of the Fraley field, and the northeast corner of the Wood field, and fired thereon

the first shot

in the Battle of Shiloh, which was heard the whole world around.

The pickets of the enemy were distant about 300 yards, and consisted of a battalion, under Major Hardcastle, of Hardee's Corps.

Five companies of the 16th Wisconsin, and two of the 12th Michigan, were there on the picket-line and became engaged about the same time.

The five companies of the 21st Missouri thus ordered to

²³Holman in *National Tribune*, January 24th et seq., 1901.

the front started from camp at the first break of day, and moved in the direction of the firing; and near the southeast corner of the Rhea field they met the pickets falling back, bringing with them their killed and wounded.²⁴

Colonel Moore halted them there; and learning the situation, sent back for the remainder of his regiment, which soon came up, under Lieutenant Colonel Woodyard. Thereupon Colonel Moore assumed command of the whole force and moved to the front. Reaching the northwest corner of the Seay field, he met the skirmish-line of the enemy. The Seay field is about 300 yards east of the Fraley field and one mile south of Sherman's headquarters near Shiloh Church.

The 21st Missouri had 617 men in line, and the Seay field marks the spot where the curtain raised and the Battle of Shiloh began; and the 21st Missouri was the first regiment engaged, and was moving west along the north side of the Seay field, and when it reached the high ground near the northwest corner of the field, it received the fire of Major Hardcastle's skirmish-line.

Colonel Moore at once faced his line south and moved into the field and formed by left half-wheel, driving back the skirmish-line and engaging the enemy in the timber on the south side of the field. After firing three or four volleys and checking them, Colonel Moore rode from the right to the center of the line and gave command to fix bayonets and charge. But at the same instant he was shot through the right leg, below the knee, shattering the bone, and compelled to retire from the field, leaving Lieutenant Colonel Woodyard in command.

Checking the Confederate Advance.

The enemy being discovered moving around the flank of this position, Colonel Woodyard ordered the four Wisconsin companies to a position east of the field, and then joined them with the 21st Missouri and held this position from 6

²⁴Holman in *National Tribune*, January 24th et seq., 1901.

to 6:30 o'clock. Colonel Moore and Lieutenant Mann were wounded, and Captain Saxe, of the 16th Wisconsin, was killed, these being the first casualties, and Captain Saxe being the first commissioned officer killed in the Battle of Shiloh.²⁵

The position just east of the Seay field proved a very strong one. It was formed under the brow of a small ridge, facing southwest. The command had three or four men killed, and one lieutenant and a number of men wounded, but retained the position about one hour, or till 7:30, when the enemy was discovered flanking it on both right and left, compelling another retirement, which was executed in line. But in passing over some small ridges the line was somewhat broken.

Near the southeast corner of the Rhea field the 25th Missouri reinforced the line under Lieutenant Colonel Van Horn. But notwithstanding Colonel Moore communicated the situation to Colonel Peabody, commanding the brigade, as soon as the situation was discovered, he was slow in getting into line.

The 21st Missouri was the first regiment engaged, having moved out to support the pickets thereof, which had been engaged for about one hour and a half; but, being flanked by the enemy, they fell back toward their camps, and at 7:40 formed in line with the Sixth Division, a short distance in front of the camps of Prentiss, and held this position for half an hour, arranged as follows:

The Second Brigade, under Colonel Madison Miller, was stretched across the Corinth road, about one-fourth mile in front of the camps of Prentiss, facing south, with the 18th Wisconsin, and the 61st Illinois in the center and the 18th Missouri on the right in the Spain field, an open and exposed position. The 16th and 12th Michigan, in order named, were in the timber on the right. The 21st and 25th Missouri were in line at the southeast corner of the Rhea field, about 400

²⁵Holman in *National Tribune*, January 24th et seq., 1901.

yards west and 500 yards south of the right of the 12th Michigan. And Hickenlooper's and Munch's Batteries were placed in the road near the corner of the Spain field.²⁶

The enemy now advanced in three solid columns, led by General Gladden, and the fighting by both infantry and artillery soon became fast and furious. Here the brave Peabody, while commanding his brigade, was killed. Here General Prentiss stubbornly replied to the onset and held the position for thirty minutes, during which he repulsed the enemy. But the enemy soon came on again, led by the 6th Mississippi, swept around both flanks of Prentiss, and these brave men thereupon fled through the ranks of Hurlbut's Fourth Division, then hastening to their support.

In this furious fighting the losses were fearful on both sides. Prentiss' Division lost Colonel Peabody, commanding the First Brigade, and Major King, of the 21st Missouri, killed on the field, and many other men either killed or wounded. But the losses of the enemy were even greater, including General Gladden. And the 6th Mississippi lost 300 officers and men out of a total of 425 engaged, the greatest percentage of loss in killed and wounded ever sustained by any one regiment in any one charge throughout the whole war.²⁷

And bear in mind that Prentiss' Division was the smallest of all, had been organized but a few days, and had but just drawn its arms.

The 25th Missouri was the second regiment engaged, having been sent forward to support the 21st, which had been engaged one hour and a half.

Undismayed by the flight of Prentiss' heroes through his ranks, General Hurlbut rushed on and deployed his First and Third Brigades in line of battle just west of the Peach Orchard, but soon withdrew them a short distance and formed his second line in the Peach Orchard as follows:

The First Brigade, with the 41st Illinois on its left, ex-

²⁶Holman in *National Tribune*, January 24th et seq., 1901. ²⁷Official report of General Cleburne, 10 Rebellion Records, p. 581.

tended across the Hamburg road, with the 28th and 32nd Illinois in the center and the 3rd Iowa on the right, facing west, on the line where the regimental monuments of this brigade now stand; and deployed his Third Brigade in line at an obtuse angle therewith, with its left resting near the 3rd Iowa, facing north; with Ross' Battery at the left of the 41st Illinois, Mann's Battery of four guns at the corner of the angle, the 13th Ohio Battery a little in advance of Mann's, and the 2nd Battalion of the 5th Ohio Cavalry in the rear of all, where we must leave them for the present in order to pursue the order of attack.

In the meantime General Sherman finally discovered that something unusual was going on, and he hastily posted his First, Third, and Fourth Brigades as follows:

First Brigade, under Colonel J. H. McDowell, consisting of the 6th Iowa, 40th Illinois, and 56th Ohio, on the extreme right, in the order named from left to right, with Moreton's Battery.

Fourth Brigade, Colonel Buckland, to the left of the first, in the following order from right to left: 72nd, 48th, and 70th Ohio and Taylor's Battery, with left at Shiloh Church.

Third Brigade, Colonel Hildebrand, was deployed at the left of Shiloh Church, consisting of the 77th, 57th, and 53rd Ohio and Waterhouse's Battery. This brigade was very much exposed on the left, owing to a wide gap on its left and Hurlbut's line at the Peach Orchard as heretofore detailed.

General Sherman had a good defensible position, for on his right ran Shiloh Branch of Owl Creek, through a deep gully, the dense wood and brush of which, while partly concealing the movements of the enemy, rendered his line difficult to approach.²³

²³Holman in *National Tribune*, January 24th et seq., 1901.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FURIOUS ASSAULTS ON SHERMAN AND MCCLERNAND.

Just before 9 a. m., and just before the arrival of Hurlbut's Division at the Peach Orchard, and at the very time the gallant Prentiss was thus completely overthrown, the Confederate Commander-in-chief hastened the two corps of Hardee and Polk and one brigade of Bragg's Corps onward toward Shiloh Church and furiously assailed the lines thus formed by Sherman and McClernand, and also the lines of W. H. L. Wallace.

Just like Ney at Waterloo, Sherman now resolved to make amends for his past delinquency, and rushed headlong into the fight. Ably assisted by McClernand, he speedily repulsed the first assault of the enemy, and inflicted thereon severe loss in killed and wounded. But this repulse proved only temporary, for soon the enemy was seen, under the Stars and Bars, in three solid columns, moving around both flanks of Sherman and McClernand, driving these two divisions before them like chaff before a cyclone. But just at the opportune moment the arrival of Veatch's Brigade, Fourth Division, saved Sherman and McClernand from total destruction, and enabled them to reform these two divisions as best they could. But they were so badly cut up that they took no further part in the fighting of the day.

The sad condition of General Sherman's Fifth Division at this time is best told by himself in his official report, as follows:

"About this time, Appler's Regiment broke in disorder, and was soon followed by fugitives from Mungen's Regiment. * * * * * When Colonel Raith, of the 46th Illinois, received a severe wound and fell from his horse, his regiment and the others

manifested disorder, and the enemy got possession of three guns of Waterhouse's Battery. I rode across the angle and met Behr's Battery at the cross-roads, and ordered it immediately to unlimber and come into battery, action right. Captain Behr gave the order, but was almost instantly shot from his horse, when the drivers and gunners fled in disorder without firing a shot. Hildebrand's whole brigade had substantially disappeared from the field, though he himself bravely remained. This was about 10:30 a. m. While we were so hardly pressed, two Iowa regiments approached from the rear, but could not be brought up to the severe fire raging in our front."²⁹

And General McClernand's First Division was then practically in a similar condition, though not quite so badly disorganized. But as neither of these two divisions took any further part in the fighting of the day, it thus conclusively appears that both divisions were badly shattered and disorganized.

But direful visions of the disgraceful disaster at the first Battle of Bull Run now seem to have seized General Sherman, for, instead of falling back towards the river, and thereby keeping in touch with W. H. L. Wallace in the Hornets' Nest, both he and McClernand fled north to the brakes of Owl Creek, thereby leaving Wallace in the Hornets' Nest, entirely exposed on the north; and neither Sherman nor McClernand took any further part in the fighting of the day.

Bear well in mind that, by this retreat, Sherman and McClernand left a wide opening all along the north side of the Hornets' Nest, which came nearly proving fatal to the Union cause, as fully shown hereafter.

Nevertheless, both Sherman and McClernand had made a stubborn fight at Shiloh Church and vicinity, and had carpeted their whole front with the dead and wounded of the enemy. General Sherman had been in the thickest of the fighting, had three horses killed beneath him and was twice wounded, but he bravely retained command of his division

²⁹10 Rebellion Records, p. 250.

throughout it all. And, as a matter of fact, his dearly bought experience at Shiloh taught him a lesson which he never forgot, and laid the foundation for his brilliant campaign subsequently "From Atlanta to the Sea, 60 miles in latitude, 300 to the main," thereafter heralded in prose and song in every land and every clime, and with every tribe and every tongue, from then till now, the world around.

General McClellan was in the tornado of the fighting, both there and elsewhere; but he frequently claimed too much credit for himself, in the opinion of General Grant, and this ultimately led to his relief by Grant, through jealousy or otherwise.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE BATTLE RAGES FURIOUSLY.

At 10:30 a. m. General Grant and staff rode along the lines of the Fourth Division at the Peach Orchard, and went out to those of Wallace, McClernand, and Sherman, and as he came back he remarked to General Hurlbut: "You will soon have some fighting to do." And the sequel proved his correctness.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE BATTLE STILL RAGES.

Albert Sidney Johnston, the Confederate Commander-in-chief, had personally superintended the assaults on Sherman and McClernand, already described in detail, and was highly elated when these two whole divisions were thus driven to the very spot selected by him in his order of battle and issued before he left Corinth; and hence he was content to withdraw all further attacks thereon. He now saw there was nothing further to be done, except to drive the other three divisions of Grant's army to the same place, when the victory would be won.

Hence, leaving but a section of artillery, supported by a single regiment, to keep up a desultory fire on the remnants of these two divisions, he now marshalled all the rest of his forces to assail Hurlbut in the Peach Orchard and a portion of the Second Division in the Hornets' Nest; and thereupon he promulgated his now famous order:

"Forward everywhere,"

and the deadliest struggle of all modern times was on. And within a few minutes more than 200 great guns and 80,000 muskets, throughout a semicircle of three miles, belched forth a continuous thunder and flame of brimstone fire till even the rockbound hills of Shiloh rocked to and fro, while everywhere brave men fell by thousands before the inferno blasts of death-dealing missiles, like grass before the sickle, while their life-blood poured forth like raging waters over the great falls at Niagara. Throughout all of which—and more beside than tongue or pen can ever tell—the brave survivors still maintained their line in the Peach Orchard and Hornets'

Nest, like sturdy oaks in a fearful storm, till the whole earth in the Peach Orchard was thickly covered "with other clay" and till the Bloody Pond became red with human blood, giving it its baptismal name for all time to come.

CHAPTER XX.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE BY STANLEY WATERLOO.

In describing this deadly struggle in the Peach Orchard in "Illinois at Shiloh," Mr. Stanley Waterloo truly says:

"The battle in the so-called Peach Orchard was the deadliest of the battles within a battle on the wood-clad and irregular field of Shiloh. It was the first of the gigantic, deadly grapples of the day at close quarters. Here came

the first crucial contest

of the struggle between nearly 90,000 Americans. Here intelligent blood was shed.

"The first crisis of the gory day had come, and was recognized in all its importance by the brilliant Southern general in command. He had his plan, and it was excellent. He must turn the Union left by the fiercest of all fighting, and seize the Landing. He would then have at his mercy the disheveled Union forces, driven into the marshes of the north on the borders of Owl Creek, and would then have crumpled up the army of invasion. Grant, with the remnant of his forces under Buell and Nelson, on the other side of the Tennessee River, would be an entity not to be feared, but to be pressed. The war would continue—not in Tennessee and Kentucky, but in Ohio. The thing to do was to crush the army at Pittsburg. The rest was inevitable.

"One almost feels sorry that the light of a military genius so great should have been snuffed out on that fatal day at Shiloh.

"He was right in his conception of an opportunity, but there were other Americans with military gifts as great, and there were rugged, plain fighters from the farms and workshops as ready to die as the splendid Southerners whom Johnston led.

"The chivalry of the South here met the sturdy manhood of the North. Perhaps neither Gettysburg nor any other battlefield of the war furnished a greater scene of courage and carnage than that afforded in and about the Peach Orchard—a field with a few peach trees at one side. And it was a great and splendid exhibition of valor.

Perhaps a mile and a quarter from the Landing was an open



DEATH OF GENERAL A. S. JOHNSTON.



28th Illinois Infantry Monument, Near Where Gen. A. S. Johnston Fell.

field, through which ran the road from Pittsburg Landing to Corinth. At 8 o'clock General W. H. L. Wallace, encamped near the Landing, but hurrying to the front at the first alarm, had taken his First and Third Brigades and three batteries of artillery and placed them in position just east of the open space named Duncan field. Sweeney's Brigade was posted north of the road. Tuttle's Brigade was formed in the wood and brush fringing the field, its left in an old road which wound its way curvingly from the Corinth road southward, and then bent eastward to reach the Hamburg and Savannah road. Three batteries were placed on a ridge back of Tuttle's command.

"Here, at the left of Wallace, Prentiss took his third position a few minutes after 9 o'clock; and here he was joined by the 23d Missouri Infantry, which added about 600 men to his fragment of a division. In Prentiss' morning fights and retreats his command had dwindled to less than a thousand men, but these gave a good account of themselves before the night fell.

"General Hurlbut hurried out to the support of Prentiss, taking his First and Third Brigades and artillery along the Hamburg road. Hurlbut commanded in person, and as he drew near the rear and left of Prentiss' second line the regiments of Prentiss' Division drifted by and through Hurlbut's command in broken masses, the enemy following close upon the flying troops.

"Hurlbut put his troops in line of battle at the Peach Orchard field, with Williams' Brigade along the south side and Lauman's Brigade along the north side of the field, with its right in the woods near the sunken road.

"General McArthur, commanding the Second Brigade of W. H. L. Wallace's Division, had been called upon for three of his regiments to serve in different parts of the field, and had been ordered to the support of Stewart, and moved with the 9th and 12th Illinois Infantry and Willard's Battery along the same road taken by Hurlbut, and ran into Jackson's Confederate Brigade, which was headed for the Landing. Stewart was stationed some distance to the left and front. McArthur formed his line just east of the Peach Orchard, and some distance from Stewart's right, with Willard's Battery just off the road to the left, then the 9th and 12th Illinois Infantry. And thus the Union troops were formed on the left for the protection of the center. Along this line, and at the Peach Orchard, raged a fierce battle for many hours.

"Prentiss was in slow retreat, passing Hurlbut's right, and the Confederates were following him closely to his last stand—the sunken

road to the right of the Hamburg and Savannah road, where he continued his defense of the center.

"In the Peach Orchard, as already explained, Hurlbut formed his First Brigade along the east side of the Peach Orchard on the open ground, with his Third Brigade continuing the line at an obtuse angle around the north side of the field, and extending some distance into the brush and timber. Three batteries were so placed as to command the approaching enemy. It was in this position that the right of Chalmers' and Gladden's Confederate Brigades, in hot pursuit of Prentiss, attacked Hurlbut's waiting lines.

"The fight opened with fire from the Confederate batteries, which were now occupying Prentiss' abandoned camps. A shell from one of these batteries blew up a caisson of Meyers' 13th Ohio Battery, and the men stampeded and abandoned their guns, but volunteers from Mann's Battery, Missouri Light Artillery, rescued the frightened horses and spiked the guns, so the lost battery could not be of use to the enemy if captured. Colonel Williams, commanding the First Brigade, was severely wounded by a cannon shot which killed his horse and rendered him helpless for the remainder of the battle.

"Lauman's Brigade was now engaged, and it held its ground by a steady and continuous fire, driving back the enemy in confusion after a half hour's fight.

"Meanwhile Hurlbut saw the glimmer of bayonets to the left and front of the First Brigade, and prepared for the onset of a superior force. The left of the line, held by the 9th and 12th Illinois and Willard's Battery, was sharply attacked; and at the same time a strong force of steady, well-drilled troops, formed in columns, doubled on the center, came over the open ground in front, and advanced to within 400 yards of Williams' Brigade, now commanded by Colonel Pugh, when Mann's and Ross' Batteries opened upon them, and four regiments of infantry, thrown forward on their flank, gave them a sharp fire of musketry and soon drove the Confederates back to cover, leaving on the field many dead and wounded.

"Some of the rear of Prentiss' retreating forces now joined Hurlbut's line and held it while ammunition was supplied to Williams' and Lauman's Brigades, Ross' and Mann's Batteries keeping up a steady and effective fire. With renewed energy, Hurlbut's men resumed the battle, and until half past one they held their position on both sides of the Peach Orchard. To the left, across the Hamburg road, McArthur's two regiments were fighting their own battle. Hurrying to Stewart's support, in the morning McArthur,

at 10 o'clock, ran into Jackson's Confederate Brigade, which was headed for the Landing.

"The opposing forces became hotly engaged, and there was a stubborn contest until about 2 o'clock, with unyielding vigor on each side. General Johnston was now in personal command of the right of his army, determined to break down the stubborn resistance of Hurlbut, McArthur, and Stewart, who held the extreme left with a sturdy grip. Bowen's Brigade was sent to the support of Jackson, closely followed by Statham's, Stephen's, and Gladden's Brigades, in an attack upon Hurlbut in the Peach Orchard. Stewart was forced back, McArthur's left was exposed, and he was driven over to Hurlbut. A new line was formed at the east side of the Peach Orchard, Lauman's Brigade being transferred to Hurlbut's left to support McArthur, who was here wounded and taken from the field. * * * *

"After a gallant stand in his second position, Hurlbut was compelled by the forces of Clanton, Chalmers, Jackson, and Bowen, who steadily pressed in upon his left, to draw back to the left of Prentiss' line, and at 2:30 o'clock p. m. Hurlbut's line extended from the broken ground at his left to the Hamburg and Savannah road, joining Prentiss on the right.

"Meanwhile Stewart, on the extreme left of the Union line, was bitterly engaged and overmatched by the Confederate generals Chalmers and Jackson. To crush Stewart meant the turning of the left Union flank, opening the path to Pittsburg Landing. But Stewart made a stubborn resistance, while to his right the Peach Orchard struggle was in progress and Prentiss was holding the sunken road in the Hornets' Nest; and so the force attacking Stewart was not as overwhelming as it might have been. There was good fighting where he was, though not of such magnitude as in and about the Peach Orchard and in front of the Hornets' Nest.

"But the ghastly struggle of all was at the Peach Orchard. The Union center *must* be broken to make effective the flanking movement around the Union left, which Johnston had determined for seizing the Landing. He came in person to direct the fight about that open field that day, destined to become the greatest stage of slaughter in the history of warfare. It was here the great general who had conceived the grand attack was killed, shot in the leg with a Minie ball and bleeding to death from a severed artery.

"Seven times the Confederates charged across this field, and seven times they were repulsed. But at last the force of numbers finally prevailed, and Hurlbut was compelled to retire, falling back

toward the Landing, toward which, just before, Stewart had also fallen back.

"There was fighting at the Peach Orchard! And, resulting from these desperate advances and retreats, this green field was literally carpeted with the bodies of the slain. No wonder that Grant, in his Memoirs, said of this scene upon that field:

"I saw an open field in our possession the second day, over which the Confederates had made repeated charges the day before, so covered with dead that it would have been possible to walk across the clearing, in any direction, stepping on dead bodies, and without a foot touching the ground.'³⁰

"It was somewhat to the left of the Union center that there was and is what has become known in American history as 'The Bloody Pond.' It was and is a sheet of water about a city block in extent, and it exists in the forest of Shiloh Battlefield to-day. Here, to assuage their thirst and lave themselves, limped or crawled the desperately wounded of both forces, as the tide of battle shifted, till the water became red with human blood. Hence came the name—'*Bloody Pond*.' But though the Bloody Pond was encircled by the dead at nightfall, its cool waters undoubtedly saved many lives.

"The Confederate General Ruggles, who had taken the place of General Johnston, concentrated his artillery upon the hitherto impregnable center. At 3:30 p. m. he placed ten batteries between Review and Duncan fields, facing due east. To support these batteries he brought up the brigades of Gibson, Shaver, Wood, Anderson, and Stewart, with the 38th Tennessee and Crescent Regiment of Pond's Brigade, and with these forces once more attacked the Union line. The concentrated fire of 62 guns drove away the Union batteries, but could not dislodge the infantry from its sheltered position in the old road. Of the batteries it may be remarked here that, while all did well, Willard's Battery, commanded by Lieutenant Wood, particularly distinguished itself in the Battle of Shiloh. It was engaged continuously during the fighting of both days. Its loss was thirty men killed and wounded, and the fact that it went into the second day's battle with but three pieces was only because of a lack of men and horses.

"There was a remarkable incident connected with the retirement of this battery from the Peach Orchard. A gun on which were two wounded artillerymen was being hauled away by a single

³⁰1Rebellion Records, p. 356.

horse, when it became stalled in the mud. Eager to save their comrades and the gun, members of the battery seized the spokes of the wheels, but could not move the piece. In the midst of their heaving, a Minie ball struck the horse at the junction of the tail and body, when the horse gave a tremendous leap and took the gun and men out of the mire."³¹

³¹This extract is from "Illinois at Shiloh," commencing on p. 32.

CHAPTER XXI.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE BY PRESTON JOHNSTON.

Having thus presented the fearful fighting at the Peach Orchard and the Hornets' Nest from the Union standpoint, it is proper to present the same from a Confederate point of view; and inasmuch as Mr. Preston Johnston, the gifted son of Albert Sidney Johnston, in his "Life" of his father, has given a very brilliant account thereof, we reproduce the greater portion thereof, as follows:

"This position of the Federals was occupied by Wallace's Division, and perhaps with the remainder of Prentiss' and other commands. Here, behind a dense thicket, on the crest of a hill, was posted a strong force of as hardy troops as ever fought, almost perfectly protected by the lay of the ground, and by logs and other rude and hastily prepared defense. To assail it, an open field had to be passed, enfiladed by the fire of his batteries. It was nicknamed by the Confederates with a very mild metaphor—'The Hornets' Nest.' No figure of speech would be too strong to express the deadly peril of assault upon this natural fortress, the inaccessible barriers of which blazed for six hours with sheets of flame, and whose infernal gates poured forth a murderous storm of shot, shell, and musket-fire which no living thing could repel or withstand. Brigade after brigade was led against it. But valor was of no avail. Hindman's brilliant brigades, which had swept everything before them from the field, was shattered into fragments in the shock of assaults and paralyzed for the remainder of the day. A. P. Stewart's regiments made fruitless assaults, but only to retire mangled and disheartened.

"Bragg now ordered up Gibson's splendid brigade, composed of the 1st Arkansas and 4th, 13th, and 19th Louisiana, which moved forward with alacrity. Gibson himself, a knightly soldier, as gentle and courteous as he was unflinching, was aided by colonels, three of whom afterward became generals. The brigade made a gallant charge, but, like the others, recoiled from the fire it encountered. A blaze of musketry swept through it from both front and flank,

and powerful batteries also opened upon its left. Under this cross-fire it at last fell back with very heavy loss. Allen's 4th Louisiana was dreadfully cut up in this charge, and suffered some confusion from misapprehension that it was fired upon by friends. Gibson asked for artillery to be sent him, but there was no more at hand. Bragg sent orders to charge again. The colonels thought it hopeless; but Gibson led them again to the attack, and they again suffered a bloody repulse.

"Gibson, who, assisted by Allen and Avegno, had been leading the 4th and 13th Louisiana in the first two assaults, learning from Adjutant Fagan that the regiments on the right had suffered equal disaster, turned over the command of his left wing to Colonel Allen, with directions to execute the orders received from General Bragg, and then proceeded to the right and helped Fagan lead the magnificent 1st Arkansas again to the assault.

"Four times the position was charged; four times the assault proved unavailing. The brigade was repulsed, but maintained its ground steadily until Wallace's position was turned, when, again renewing its forward movement in conjunction with Cheatham's command, it helped to drive back its stout opponents.

"Lieutenant Colonel Thompson, of the 1st Arkansas, fell pierced with seven balls. Two of its captains were killed; the major, a captain, and many officers were wounded. In the 4th Louisiana, Colonel Allen was wounded, and three captains and three lieutenants killed or wounded. Gibson's entire staff was disabled, and his assistant adjutant general, Ben King, killed. When Gibson went to Fagan, Allen, a very fearless soldier, wrung at his unavailing loss, rode back to General Bragg to repeat the need for artillery, and to ask him if he should charge again. Impatient at the check, Bragg hastily replied: 'Colonel Allen, I want no faltering now.' Stung at the reply, Allen said not a word, but, going back to his command and waving his sword for his men to follow, charged once more—but in vain. He never forgave Bragg, and the brigade thought it got hard measure in Bragg's report. * * * * *

"After the rout of Sherman and McClernand, there seems to have been not much heavy fighting on that flank."

The hour is now 2 p. m., and General Johnston, then in personal command in the attack on Hurlbut in the Peach Orchard, assigned General Bragg to command of the right

center, and ordered him to attack at once, and Colonel Munford, Confederate, says:

"General Bragg was ordered to attack at once, and here occurred the most obstinate contest of the whole day. It was full four hours of the severest fighting before the enemy gave way, and then not until General Johnston, with the remainder of the active troops, had driven all opposition from the entire right and center of the field far back toward the river."³²

Following which, Preston Johnston says:

"The front on which General Johnston was now moving was almost at right angle to his original line, and approaching a perpendicular to the river. Chalmers' Brigade, on the extreme right, next to the river, was somewhat advanced, so it continually pressed upon and turned the enemy's left flank. Eight hundred yards to the left and rear, Bowen's Brigade came up; and with a like interval to the left and rear of Bowen was Statham's strong brigade. These troops advanced in echelon of brigades. The batteries were in full play; the resistance was vigorous; the contest fierce. Chalmers pushed forward with considerable success; General Johnston had Bowen's Brigade deployed, and it advanced with energy. Statham's Brigade impinged upon what was an angle in the Federal line where the Northerners were collected in heavy masses. This locality was probably held by Hurlbut's Brigades, and they opposed a desperate defense to every forward movement. The severe pressure on their left had called the Northern troops to this point, and we find acting Brigadier General Cruft, after having repulsed four assaults farther to the right, strengthening it. General Sweeney also reinforced Hurlbut with three regiments of Wallace's Division.

"There had been four hours of heavy fighting, during all of which the Federal center had not been moved. The right had been broken; its left was forced back and doubled upon itself, and Hurlbut had more than once fallen back, retiring his left in order to correct his alignment.

"But there his command stood,

dealing slaughter on every attempt to advance. His position was evidently the key, and it was necessary to break down the stubborn defense that maintained it. It was for this that Breckinridge's Reserves, the only brigades which had not been engaged, were brought forward. General Johnston's purpose was to destroy Grant's

³²Life of Albert Sidney Johnston, p. 608.

army that day. The afternoon was upon him. The final blow must be struck. Statham's Brigade was sent in about noon. It was made up of six fine regiments; two of them were raw, four of them knew nothing about war, except the miserable defeat at Mill Spring. The brigade now found itself welcomed by a fearful blaze of musketry and artillery; and in getting into line, suffered enough to fall into some confusion.

"The Federals were posted in a double line of battle, protected by the crest of a wooded hill, and the men

seemed to be lying down and firing.

Opposite this strong position, one or two hundred yards distant was another ridge, swept by the Federal fire. Behind this Statham's, troops were comparatively secure; but to assail the enemy they had to cross this exposed ridge, descend one slope and ascend another, commanded and raked by this deadly ambushade. They stood, therefore, delivering and receiving a fire which Governor Harris says was as heavy as any he saw in the war. But they could not drive the enemy from his stronghold by their fire, nor without a charge that meant death for many."³³

And Major Hodge, of Breckinridge's staff, who was present on the spot, adds the following description of this fearful fighting:

"The long slope of the ridge was here abruptly broken by a succession of small hills or undulations of some fifty feet in heights dividing the rolling country from the river bottom. Behind the crest of the last of these the enemy was concealed. Opposite them, at a distance of 75 yards, was another long swell of hillocks, the summit of which it was necessary to ascend in order to open fire; and to this elevation the reserve moved in order of battle at double-quick. In an instant the opposing height was one vast sheet of flame. Battle's Tennessee Regiment, on the extreme right, gallantly maintained itself, pushing onward under a withering fire and establishing itself well in advance. Lytle's Tennessee Regiment, next to it, delivered its fire at random and inefficiently, became immediately disordered, and retired in confusion down the slope. Three times it was rallied by its lieutenant colonel, T. T. Hawkins, and by the adjutant general, and carried up the slope, only to be as often repulsed and driven back; the regiment of the enemy op-

³³Life of Albert Sidney Johnston, pp. 609-610.

posed to it, at intervals, directing an oblique fire upon Battle's Regiment, now contending against overwhelming odds.

"The crisis has come. There are no more reserves, and Breckinridge directed a charge."³⁴

Preston Johnston continues:

"The 45th Tennessee was behind the crest of a hill, and thus protected. The men would advance to a rail fence, individually or in squads, deliver an irregular fire, and fall back; but they would not come up to their alignment nor exhibit the purpose required for a desperate charge. They were not stampeded, but irresolute; but probably their conduct did not fall below the average of the brigade, or below what might be expected from raw troops under like circumstances. But more was required of them and of all.

"It was in this condition of things that General Breckinridge rode up to General Johnston and said: 'General, I have a Tennessee regiment that will not fight.'

"Governor Harris broke in energetically: 'Show me that regiment.'

"Breckinridge courteously and apologetically indicated the command, and General Johnston said: 'Let the Governor go to them.'

"Governor Harris went, and with some difficulty put the regiment in line of battle on the hill, where they could engage in combat effectively.

"After some delay, the wavering of the line still increasing, General Johnston directed that the line be got ready for a charge. Breckinridge soon returned and said he feared he could not get the brigade to make the charge. General Johnston replied to him cheerfully: 'Oh yes, I think you can.' Breckinridge, with an emotion unusual to his controlled and equitable temper, told him he had tried and failed. 'Then I will help you,' said General Johnston. 'We can get them to make the charge.'

"Turning to Governor Harris, who had come back to report that the Tennessee regiment was in line, he requested him to return and encourage them, then some distance to the right, but under his eye, and to aid in getting them to charge.

"Harris galloped to the right, and, breaking in among the soldiers with a sharp harangue, dismounted and led them on foot, pistol in hand, up to their alignment, and in the charge when it was made.

³⁴Life of Albert Sidney Johnston, p. 610.

"In the meantime Breckinridge, with his fine voice and manly bearing, was appealing to the soldiers, aided by his son Cabell and a very gallant staff. It was a goodly company; and in the charge Breckinridge, leading and towering above them all, was the only one who escaped unscathed. Major Hodge and Cabell Breckinridge had their horses shot under them; Major Hawkins was wounded in the face, and Captain Allen had his leg torn by a shell. Many eye-witnesses have remarked to the writer on the beautiful composure and serene fidelity with which Cabell Breckinridge, then a mere boy, rode close to his father during all this stirring scene.

"General Johnston rode out in front slowly down the line. His hat was off. His sword rested in its scabbard. In his right hand he held a little tin cup, the memorial of an incident occurring earlier in the day, when he was passing through a captured camp and an officer had brought from a tent a number of valuable articles, calling General Johnston's attention thereto. 'None of that, sir; we are not here for plunder.' And then, as if regretting the sharpness of the rebuke, for the anger of the just cuts deep, he added, raising this little tin cup: 'Let this be my share of the spoils to-day.' It was this plaything which, holding it between two fingers, he employed more effectively in his natural and simple gesticulation than most men could have used a sword. His presence was full of inspiration. Many men of rank have told the writer that they never saw General Johnston's equal in battle in this respect.

"He sat his beautiful thoroughbred bay, Fire-eater, with easy command—like a statue of Victory. His voice was persuasive, encouraging, and compelling. It was inviting men to death, but they obeyed it. Most of all, it was the light of his gray eye and splendid presence, full of the joy of combat, which wrought upon his command. His words were few. He touched their bayonets with a significant gesture. 'These must do the work,' he said. 'Men, they are stubborn. We must use the bayonet.'

"When he reached the center of the line, he turned, saying, 'I will lead you,' and moved toward the enemy. The line was already thrilling and trembling with the tremendous and irresistible ardor which decides the day in battle. Those nearest to him, as if drawn to him by some overmastering magnetic force, rushed forward around him with a mighty shout. The rest of the line took it up and echoed it with a wild yell of defiance and desperate purpose, and charged forward with rapid and irresistible step. A sheet of flame burst from the Federal stronghold, blazing along the crest of the ridge. There was a roar of cannon and musketry, a storm

of leaden and iron hail. The Confederate line withered, and the dead and dying strewed the dark valley; but there was not an instant's pause. Right up the steep they went. The crest was gained. The enemy was in flight—a few scattering shots replying to the ringing cheers of the Confederates."³⁵

But, as an absolute matter of fact, it was not this charge which compelled General Hurlbut to fall back with his two brigades of the Fourth Division; but it was because he had just learned that Stewart, to his left, was driven in by Chalmers and Jackson; and hence he had already taken the bull by the horns and withdrew his First Brigade behind the worm-fence which then skirted the west side of the Peach Orchard, moving Lauman's Brigade over to the left to prevent the flanking movement of the enemy. Thereupon the First Brigade lay down behind this worm-fence, where they were completely concealed from view by the fence and a dense growth of underbrush.

The Death of General Albert Sidney Johnston.

Inasmuch as General Johnston had seen the retreat of these two brigades of Hurlbut's Division, he concluded they had fled to the river, and, unattended, rode up from the ravine skirting the Peach Orchard on the east to within 50 yards of the point now designated by the 28th Illinois Regimental Monument, where he deliberately halted his horse, raised his field-glass, and commenced reconnoitering his whole front. Inasmuch as there was no enemy in sight at the time Hurlbut retired his First Brigade behind the fence on the east side of the Peach Orchard, he had ordered firing to cease, and his First Brigade was then secreted by the fence and underbrush. But this bold challenge of the Rebel officer caused a disobedience of the order, and thereupon about a dozen shots from the 28th and 41st Illinois were fired at the intruder, one of which hurled a Minie ball through the fleshy

³⁵Life of Albert Sidney Johnston, p. 612.

part of the right leg of Johnston, below the knee, and severed an artery.

Thereupon General Johnston hurriedly wheeled his horse around and hastened back. On his arrival at the large oak tree which now bears the inscription, "Albert Sidney Johnston died here," he met Governor Harris, who saw the general looking seriously pale and remarked, "General, are you wounded?" "Yes; and I fear seriously," General Johnston replied.

And Preston Johnston says:

"By the chance of war, a Minie ball did its fatal work. As General Johnston, on horseback, sat there, knowing he had crushed in the arch which had so long resisted the pressure of his forces, and waiting till they should collect sufficiently to give the final stroke, he received a mortal wound. It came at the moment of victory and triumph from a flying foe. It smote him at the very instant when he felt the full conviction that the day was won."³⁶

But, as a matter of fact, General Johnston did not die beneath that large oak tree, as conclusively appears from a solid iron tablet now located at the bottom of the ravine and some 50 yards nearly due east from this tree, and which iron tablet bears the following inscription:

GENERAL ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON,

Commanding the Confederate Army,
Died here at 2:30 p. m., April 6, 1862.

Senator Isham G. Harris, who was Governor of Tennessee in 1862, and was serving as volunteer aide on the staff of General Johnston at Shiloh, visited this field in 1888 for the express purpose of fixing the place where General Johnston fell. After a careful examination of the ground over which the Confederate advance was made, he came to the place now marked by the Monument, and said: "General Johnston was following the advance of Bowen's Brigade. He had sent the members of his staff to other parts of the field with orders. I was the last to leave him, with orders to put Stat-

³⁶Life of Albert Sidney Johnston, p. 613.

ham's Brigade in motion for the Peach Orchard. When I returned, General Johnston was alone, sitting on his horse near a large oak tree. I saw him reel in his saddle, and rode to his side and remarked: 'Are you hurt?' He replied: 'Yes; and I fear seriously.' I supported him in the saddle and guided the two horses to the ravine in the rear, lifted him from the horse, and placed him on the ground. He was unconscious, and died in a few minutes."

CHAPTER XXII.

A PALL OF GLOOM.

"The bright sun was extinguished, and the stars
Did wander darkling through the eternal space,
Rayless and pathless. And the icy earth
Swung blind and blackening in the moonless night.
Morn came, and went, and came, but brought no day."
—Byron.

The hour is now 3 p. m. and the unspeakable horror of dark disaster is now plainly stamped upon the sorrowful features of even the bravest of the brave. Sad enough it surely is to say it, but at this very time every camp but one of every Union division is now in possession of the victorious enemy, with all the sorrow that that implies. And just as in the solitude of moonless night gloom alone settles down upon the new-made graves of the loved and lost, just so it now settles down everywhere upon this devoted Union army, till one might well exclaim with Napoleon at Waterloo: "Oh that night or Grouchy would come!" "Oh that night or Buell would come!"

But some sage of long ago truly said, "The darkest hour just precedes the dawning of the day," and this is now the only hope of the Union army.

But true enough it surely is, all general rules have their exceptions; and there are even now two exceptions to the otherwise universal gloom prevailing throughout the whole Union army, and these consist of General Stephen A. Hurlbut, the commander of the "Fighting Fourth Division," and Colonel Amory K. Johnson, commanding the 28th Illinois Infantry; for these two officers knew that for five fearful hours the Fourth Division, minus its Second Brigade, had held its

lines intact at the Peach Orchard and Bloody Pond, where it had successfully repulsed seven successive charges of the enemy, till the whole front was literally carpeted with the dead and dying of the enemy; and they also knew that the Fourth Division had never been driven a single foot by any assault upon its front. Having successfully repulsed every assault by the enemy upon its front throughout this whole fearful day, both Hurlbut and Johnson believed that, with the addition of its Second Brigade and the 9th and 12th Illinois (which had now joined Hurlbut), all were still safe. But the men behind the guns could not see things in that way. All they knew about it was, that they had been constantly falling back ever since the dawn of day, and that the enemy had captured all their camps but one. But the army did not, and could not, know the reason of it all.



"BLOODY POND."



CHAPTER XXIII.

SURROUNDING THE HORNETS' NEST.

The Death of General W. H. L. Wallace and Capture of General Prentiss.

At the very same time that General Hurlbut was thus falling back along the south side of the Hornets' Nest, before the advance of the two corps of Bragg and Breckinridge, the two corps of Polk and Hardee swept down the north side thereof, through the dangerous opening left by Sherman and McClernand at the time they thus fled from the field to the brakes of Owl Creek, as heretofore fully related, thereby completely surrounding General W. H. L. Wallace and the heroes under General Prentiss in the Hornets' Nest; General Hurlbut having previously sent word to General Wallace at the time of the defeat of Stewart on the extreme left.³⁷

During the effort of General W. H. L. Wallace to withdraw from his strong position in the Hornets' Nest, he was mortally wounded, and General Prentiss and 2,200 of his heroes were captured.

All four corps of the enemy thus formed a junction just northeast of the present location of the Headquarters Monument of the Fourth Division.

The enemy now halted to disarm and secure the prisoners thus captured, for at that time they could have kept on to the Landing and thereby won the battle. But while the enemy was thus engaged in disarming and removing their prisoners, General Hurlbut succeeded in forming and establishing the Siege-gun Battery line as heretofore related in detail, and the enemy lost forever its golden opportunity.

³⁷See Hurlbut's official report of the Battle of Shiloh, 10 Rebellion Records, p. 264.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FLANKING MOVE OF BRAGG AND THE RETREAT OF HURLBUT.

Inasmuch as General Bragg had been assigned to the command of the enemy's center and right by the Commander-in-chief, just before his death, under the belief that General Hurlbut had been driven back to the vicinity of the Tennessee River, General Bragg now assumed command of the enemy's entire firing-line, and at once commenced a rapid move around the left flank of General Hurlbut.

Having closely witnessed all the deadly fighting in and around the Peach Orchard, General Bragg had learned from actual experience that Hurlbut could not be driven from his firm stand behind the worm-fence at the west side of the Peach Orchard by any attack upon his front. Hence, after more than five hours of failure, General Bragg saw that, as the mountain would not come to him, he would have to go to the mountain. Accordingly, he commenced to move around the left flank of the Fourth Division. This compelled General Hurlbut to shift his Third Brigade over to his left, followed by a withdrawal to the Bloody Pond, where he repulsed another charge of the enemy.

Just at this time General Hurlbut received a dispatch from Colonel Stewart, commanding the extreme Union left, informing Hurlbut that Stewart's Brigade had been completely shattered and that the enemy would soon be at the Landing. This compelled General Hurlbut to fall back rapidly to his camp, and then to the Siege-gun Battery, located about one-third of a mile from the top of the bluff of the Tennessee River, where he hurriedly formed the Siege-gun Battery line, reaching from the top of the bluff west to the Siege-gun Bat-

tery, and thence onward to the brakes of Owl Creek, following the crest of the dividing ridge, this line being at a right angle to the Tennessee River. And here he was joined by his Second Brigade, and the 9th, 12th, and 14th Illinois, and many other heroes.

CHAPTER XXV.

APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL HURLBUT TO THE COMMAND OF ALL.

And this is the exact situation at 4 p. m. Surely enough, everything presents a scene of horror alone.

But here, first of all, is exhibited the wonderful military genius of General Grant, who knew just how General Hurlbut had successfully repulsed every assault of the enemy throughout all that fearful day, and knew the Fourth Division had been held intact throughout it all; more than this, he knew all his other divisions were completely broken up and helpless for the day. Fortunately enough, he sized up the situation in an instant and saw the necessity for heroic action in this crisis.

Hence, as if by intuition, he rides up to General Hurlbut, then near the Siege-gun Battery, and orders him to take immediate command of the whole Siege-gun Battery line, and all the troops to come up.³⁸

This threw the whole responsibility upon the commander of the Fourth Division.

After accepting this great trust, and returning thanks therefor, General Hurlbut at once proceeded to confer with Major Cavender, and directed him to take charge of the six 20-pounder Parrotts of the Siege-gun Battery, located just to the right of his First Brigade, and sent an aide to establish all the field artillery on the crest and just in front of the Fourth Division, directing Dr. Cronyn to take personal charge of one of the 20-pounder Parrotts, and directing all others to follow the line of fire set by Dr. Cronyn.

General Hurlbut next conferred with Commander Gwin,

³⁸See Hurlbut's official report, 10 Rebellion Records, p. 205, approved by General Grant.

of the wooden gunboat *Tyler*, lying in the river just off the mouth of Dill's Branch, requesting him to follow the line of fire of the heavy siege gun, under charge of Dr. Cronyn, with the whole battery of the *Tyler*.³⁹

Following this, General Hurlbut rode back and forth, up and down the Siege-gun Battery line, encouraging his men, then lying just behind the crest of the ridge, to brace them up for the inferno soon to come, time and again cautioning them not to expose themselves to the fire of the enemy, because "*None but a field officer has a right to be shot.*"

Preparations of the Enemy.

During the same time these preparations by General Hurlbut were going on, General Bragg was engaged in massing all the Confederate forces in the next depression south of Dill's Branch, in three solid columns of four ranks each.

Inasmuch as General Bragg had been the chief of staff of the late Commander-in-chief, as well as commanding his own corps, it devolved upon him to crush the Union left and thereby end the battle. Having got everything in readiness for the final blow, he ordered all his artillery to move ahead to the top of the crest in front and open fire just as soon as his men had descended into Dill's Branch; and thereupon mounted his horse, drew his sword, and with all the energy at his command, he shouted forth his famous order:

*"Forward! Let every move be forward!"*⁴⁰

And while the trumpets were sounding the charge, Hector sallied forth from the gates of Troy, and on came the charging columns in four ranks abreast, with bayonets fixed and glistening in the sun, all yelling like demons incarnate, with the famous 18th Louisiana and Lone Star Regiment of Texas in the lead of all.

Immediately whereupon, General Hurlbut directed Dr. Cronyn to open on the enemy's batteries with his heavy

³⁹Report of Commander Gwin, 22 Naval Reports, p. 762. ⁴⁰Life of Albert Sidney Johnston, p. 636.

siege gun, to be followed immediately by all the siege guns and field artillery and the cross-fire of the heavy guns of the *Tyler*, all hurling forth the most fearful cannonade ever known upon this continent, shaking the rock-ribbed hills of Shiloh till they swayed to and fro like sturdy oaks before a cyclone. And in less than ten minutes the Confederate batteries were swept from the crest, not a single vestige thereof being left.

Of course, the charging columns of the enemy were then down near the bottom of Dill's Branch and knew nothing about the disaster to their artillery. There their alignment was somewhat broken by the dense brush along the creek; but this delayed them for a short time only.

After General Hurlbut's artillery had thus completely swept away the artillery of the enemy, he directed it to cease firing; but as soon as the charging hosts emerged from Dill's Branch and came on within easy rifle-range, he opened on the Confederates with all his infantry and artillery, aided by the cross-fire of the *Tyler*, mowing the enemy down like stalks of wheat before the sickle.

Notwithstanding this bloody repulse, and the destruction of his field artillery, General Bragg repeated this charge three successive times, but always with similar result, each charge followed with a like counter-charge. And, still persisting, General Bragg brought up his last reserve for still another charge, but was halted by the arrival of Colonel Augustin, who handed him an order from General Beauregard to withdraw his men out of rifle-range.

"Has this order been promulgated?" demanded Bragg.

"It has," replied Colonel Augustin.

"If it had not been promulgated, I would not obey it. *The battle is lost,*" replied General Bragg.⁴¹

And right then and there, with more than three full hours of daylight still remaining, General Bragg withdrew all his

⁴¹10 Rebellion Records, p. 472.

remaining forces beyond rifle-range, and all finally became quiet again, excepting a few random shots.

And this is just exactly the way General Stephen A. Hurlbut, with the Fourth Division, assisted by the 9th and 12th Illinois and many other heroes, saved our army at Shiloh, thereby demonstrating for the first time the great and wonderful military genius of General Grant, which subsequently rendered him famous the world around with every race and tribe and tongue.

Yes, yes; General Bragg was right in saying, "*The battle is lost*"; for soon after the enemy had completed withdrawing from range, a portly and well-mounted Union officer, with long and flowing locks of hair as white as the snows of polar seas, dashed up and down the Siege-gun Battery line, shouting at the top of his voice at every stride, "Buell's army has come! Buell's army has come! Buell's army has come!"

And surely enough, just on the other side of the Tennessee River, in plain sight of the Siege-gun Battery, Ammen's Brigade of Nelson's Division, Army of the Ohio, were stacking arms in plain view.

And right then and there, from one end of the Union line to the other, there went up a mighty shout, which, barring the Alleghenies, might have been heard at Washington.

And surely enough, the sage was right when he declared, "The darkest hour just precedes the dawning of the day."

And thus it was that, finally, the overhanging gloom was forever dispelled and Bull Run was gloriously avenged.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THAT FEARFUL SUNDAY NIGHT.

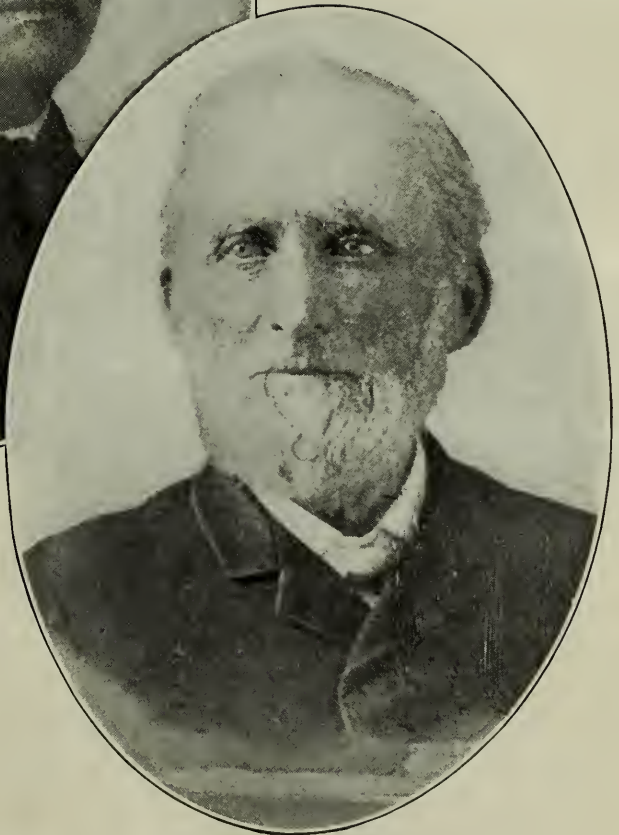
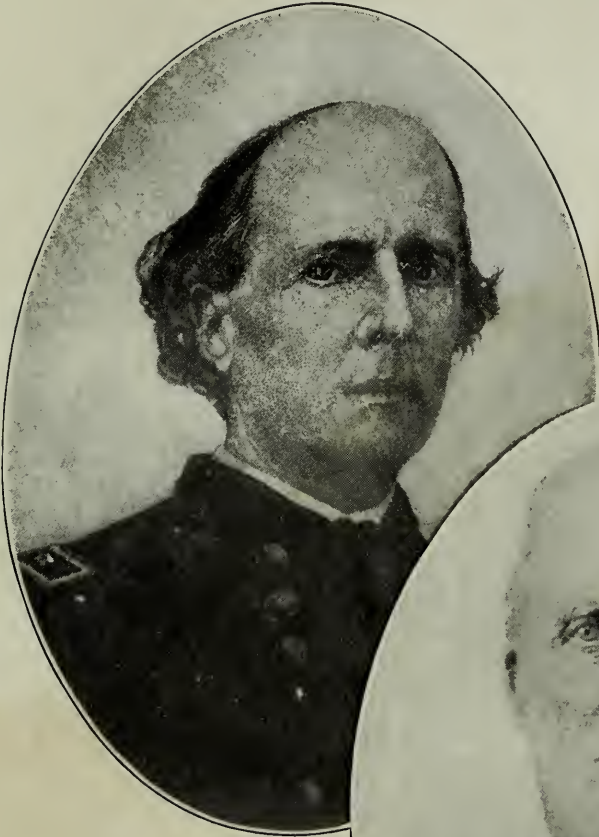
The surviving heroes of the Army of the Tennessee remained in line of battle throughout that whole fearful Sunday night, without food or shelter, in the cold and driving rain, listening to the screams of the wounded which could not be assisted. Threescore years have rolled away since then, and now lie buried in the oblivion of all the past; but whenever a survivor recalls that fearful scene, his breast still heaves with untold emotion.

As soon as Ammen's Brigade, Nelson's Division, Army of the Ohio, had partaken of a hasty supper, they commenced cutting a road through the brush down to the river; and just as soon as this was completed, the 36th Indiana began to cross over. But, because the cabin of the steamer was already filled to overflow with wounded Union soldiers, the boat had to make several round trips to get this regiment over. And just as soon as this regiment was all across, it formed, marched up the bluff, and went into position to the left of Hurlbut's First Brigade, where it threw out pickets and remained till daylight next morning. The rest of Nelson's Division arrived on steamers during the night and took position just to the right of Hurlbut's Division.

Crittenden's Division, Army of the Ohio, was brought up from Savannah during the night and went into position to the right of Nelson.

The advance of McCook's Division, Army of the Ohio, came up on boats from Savannah at 5 a. m., Monday morning, and formed next to the right of Nelson.

Wood's Division, Army of the Ohio, reached the Landing



MAJ. GEN. STEPHEN A. HURLBUT.

GEN. B. M. PRENTISS,
As He Appeared in Later Years.

on steamboats from Savannah on Monday afternoon, too late to participate in the battle.

General Lew Wallace's Third Division, Army of the Tennessee, crossed the Snake Creek bridge and went into position just to the left of General Sherman. This division was camped more than two weeks prior to the battle at and near Crump's Landing, only four miles from Snake Creek and only four miles away, and should have reached the firing-line within an hour after the battle began, but fooled away the whole precious day in marches and counter-marches. Even the advance did not cross the Snake Creek bridge till nearly sunset, or long after the fighting had ceased.⁴² Lew Wallace afterward became famous as the author of "Ben-Hur"; but he would have served his country much better if he had "been there."

⁴²This is conclusively shown by Wallace's official report, 10 Rebellion Records, p. 302.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE BATTLE ON MONDAY.

At the first peep of day, Monday morning, General Grant assumed the offensive by moving Hurlbut's Division over to the right; and in so doing Hurlbut encountered a strong force of the enemy well posted in the Jones field. Just as soon as Hurlbut developed the position of the enemy, he ordered a charge; and just as soon as the bugle had sounded the charge, on went the Fourth Division, led by the 14th Illinois, putting the enemy to flight and capturing a battery of brass guns. The division then moved on and took position to the left of General McClernand.

General Nelson's Division, Army of the Ohio, moved forward soon after daylight in a southwest direction. Crittenden and McCook's Divisions, Army of the Ohio, also moved forward at the same time in the same general direction; and Wallace's Division, Army of the Tennessee, not engaged on Sunday, also moved forward in the same direction, as did Sherman and McClernand's Divisions. But, inasmuch as Wallace's Division lost only 254 men in the entire battle, it is not necessary to go into details of their operations.

After some heavy firing on the right of the Union line, both Sherman and McClernand succeeded in recapturing their camps, which they had abandoned at about 10:30 the day before.

During the general advance, the 77th Pennsylvania repulsed two successive charges made by Clanton's Cavalry, near the spot where the Pennsylvania Monument now stands; and this regiment held every position taken by it in fine style throughout the remainder of the battle.

During the early advance of McClernand's Division, it

received a raking fire from the enemy, which threw it into temporary disorder; but the timely assistance of the Fourth Division restored it to order again, and McClelland gives Hurlbut full credit therefor in his official report.⁴³

One brigade of Nelson's Division was also repulsed with disorder at one time; but the 19th Ohio went to their assistance and restored order and confidence. The general advance went steadily forward everywhere, constantly driving the enemy before them.

⁴³See McClelland's official report, 10 Rebellion Records, pp. 119-120.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE VERY LAST CHARGE AT SHILOH.

As General Hurlbut was riding along in front of the Fourth Division, in advance of all besides, he instantly sized up the situation of the enemy, as if by intuition, and right then and there resolved to charge the Confederates again. Riding back to Colonel Veatch, commanding his Second Brigade, he ordered Colonel Veatch to hurry forward his brigade to the front for the purpose of making another charge on the enemy, and directed him to select a competent officer from his brigade to lead the charge. Thereupon Colonel Veatch selected Colonel Hall, of the 14th Illinois, to lead the assault.

Colonel Veatch's Brigade consisted of the following organizations:

- 14th Illinois Infantry,
- 15th Illinois Infantry,
- 146th Illinois Infantry,
- 25th Indiana Infantry.

Fifty yards behind the line of the Second Brigade followed the First Brigade, composed of the following:

- 3rd Iowa Infantry,
- 28th Illinois Infantry,
- 32nd Illinois Infantry,
- 41st Illinois Infantry.

Fifty yards in rear of the second line came the Third Brigade, composed of the following organizations:

- 31st Indiana Infantry,
- 44th Indiana Infantry,
- 17th Kentucky Infantry,
- 25th Kentucky Infantry.

Mann's Missouri Battery supported the right flank, and



**LAST CHARGE AT
SHILOH ON
SUNDAY**



Ross' 2nd Michigan Battery the left flank, which was also aided by the steady advance of three divisions of the Army of the Ohio.

As soon as the Fourth Division reached the front of all, General Hurlbut directed Colonel Veatch to make the assault without delay. Thereupon Colonel Hall rode out in front of the Second Brigade and shouted forth his famous command:

"Forward! Double-quick! Charge!"

And, with bayonets fixed and glistening in the sun, on went the Second Brigade, yelling at every stride, followed by the other two brigades. Halting for a moment to deliver one volley at the enemy, they continued the charge, and soon put the Confederates to full flight for Corinth. And just at 2:30 p. m., after two days of the deadliest fighting of modern times, a most glorious victory finally dawned upon the flag of the free.⁴⁴

And this is precisely the way General Stephen A. Hurlbut finally won the deadliest battle of all time with the "Fighting Fourth Division," Army of the Tennessee.

⁴⁴See the very modest report of Colonel Hall, who led this charge, 10 Rebellion Records, p. 223.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CONGRATULATIONS.

The next day after the conclusion of the battle General Grant issued his congratulations to the whole army engaged in the battle, as follows:

"The General commanding congratulates the troops who so gallantly maintained, repulsed and routed a numerically superior force of the enemy, composed of the flower of the Southern army, commanded by their ablest generals, and fought by them with all the desperation of despair. In numbers engaged, no such contest ever before took place on this continent. In importance of results, but few have taken place in the history of the world."⁴⁵

And on April 9th the War Department at Washington, issued the following:

"That at meridian on Sunday next after receipt of this order at the head of every regiment in the service of the United States, there shall be offered by its chaplain a prayer giving thanks to the Lord of Hosts for the recent manifestation of His power in the overthrow of rebels and traitors."⁴⁶

The second day after the battle General Hurlbut issued the following:

"HEADQUARTERS FOURTH DIVISION, April 9, 1862.

"General Order No. ———.

"The General commanding tenders his heartfelt congratulations to the surviving officers and men of this division for their magnificent services during the two days of struggle, which, under the blessing of God, have finally resulted in victory.

"Let the surviving members of this division remember that, for five long hours on Sunday, under the most terrific fire, they held the key points on the left center of the army; and that they fell back only when outflanked by overwhelming masses pressing through points abandoned by our supports. Let them remember that, whenever they fell back, it was always in perfect order. Let them for-

⁴⁵10 Rebellion Records, p. 111. ⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 381.

ever remember that the last line of resistance, in the rear of the heavy guns, was first formed by this division.

"Let them forever remember that, on the morning of Monday, without food and without sleep, they were ordered to support the right; and that, wherever either brigade of this division went on the entire field of action, they were in time to support broken flanks and to hold the line.

"Keep these facts forever in memory. Hand them down to your children and children's children.

"When we conquer a peace, and forever thereafter, let it be the chief pride of every man of this command, as it is with the General commanding, that he served at Pittsburg Landing with the Fighting Fourth Division.

"By order of

STEPHEN A. HURLBUT,

"Brigadier General.

"S. D. ATKINS, A. A. G."

And even Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, although not having a single organization at Shiloh, ordered the following:

"It is ordered by the Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Militia of Massachusetts, that a salute of 100 guns be fired on Boston Common to-morrow at noon, the 11th day of April, 1862.

"Not even the cannon's mouth can loudly enough proclaim the debt which our country, human liberty, and civilization itself owe to these noble men of the West, who have met the angriest torrent of the Rebellion and rolled its waves back upon their depths.

"The heart of every son of Massachusetts arises to salute them and to do them homage."⁴⁷

And similar congratulations were simultaneously proclaimed by all the loyal States.

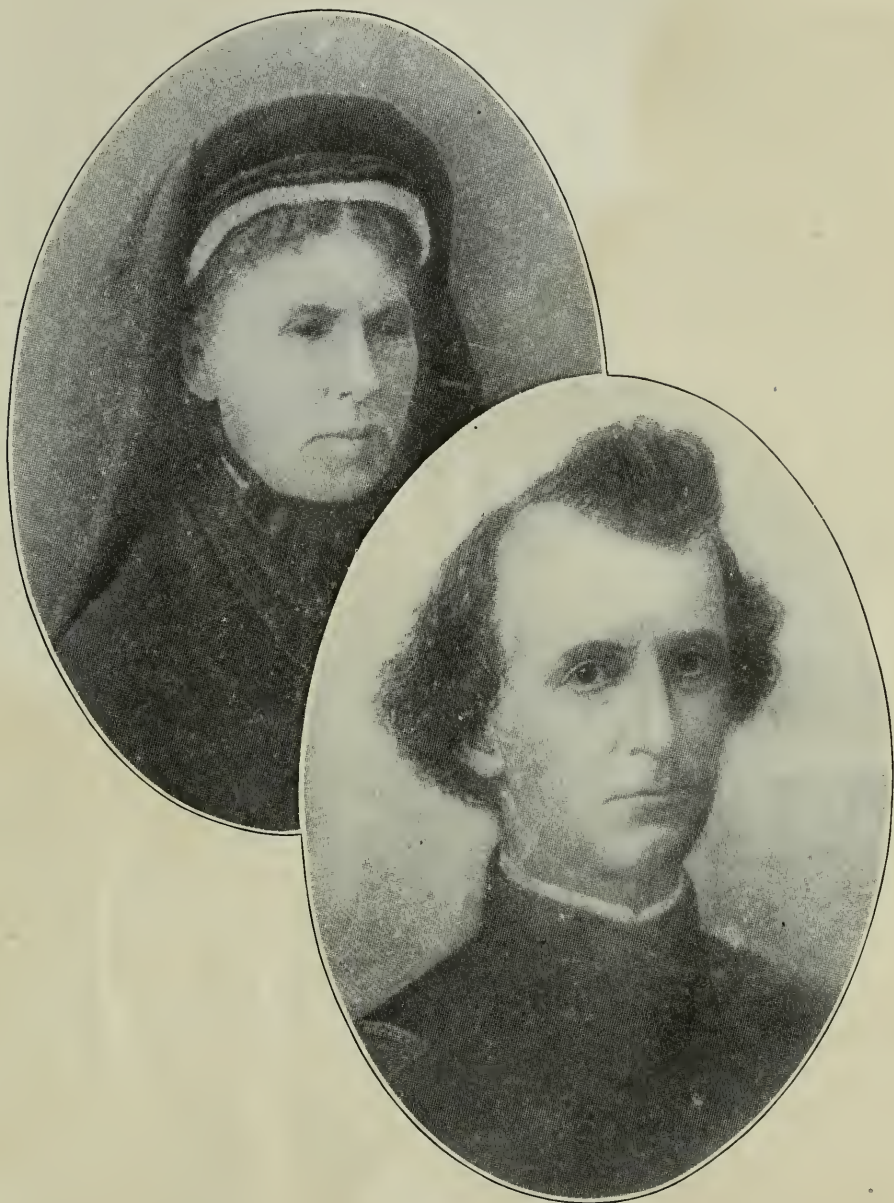
And why?

It was not alone because we had gained a great victory at Shiloh, but it was largely because Shiloh proved the absolute falsity of the bombastic boasting of the far South that one soldier from the cotton States could easily put to flight a dozen from the loyal States, which seemed to have been proven true by the first Battle of Bull Run.

⁴⁷10 Rebellion Records, Part II., p. 518.

At Shiloh the Confederates had a vast advantage in numbers. To be specific, they had 50,000, to our 36,000. And in addition to this, the vast advantage of a complete surprise. And notwithstanding all this advantage, the Confederates were completely defeated by a numerically smaller force, and the overhanging clouds of gloom which arose from Bull Run were swept away forever and forever.

It is little wonder that, "after Shiloh, Secession never smiled again."



MRS. GEN. WALLACE.

GEN. W. H. L. WALLACE.

CHAPTER XXX.

CASUALTIES AT THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

Casualties at Shiloh, April 6-7, 1862, of the Army of the Tennessee, commanded by Major General U. S. Grant, and the Army of the Ohio, under Major General Don Carlos Buell.

First, the Army of the Tennessee:

ABSTRACT OF FIELD RETURNS, ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE.

Commanded by Major General U. S. Grant, at the Battle of Shiloh, April 6-7, 1862.

Command.	Present.	Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total Killed and Wounded.	Per Cent Killed and Wounded.
FIRST DIVISION.						
<i>First Brigade.</i>						
Field and Staff.....	.....	.....	...	.....	...	.....
8th Iowa.....	495	470	30	50	80	12+
18th Illinois.....	390	390	17	58	75	19+
11th Iowa.....	750	666	30	100	150	22+
15th Iowa.....	717	665	20	159	179	27+
Totals First Brigade.....	2,352	2,191	97	367	484	22+
<i>Second Brigade.</i>						
Col. C. C. Marsh.						
11th Illinois.....	339	332	17	69	86	25+
20th Illinois.....	526	511	22	107	129	23+
45th Illinois.....	562	544	23	187	210	38+
48th Illinois.....	427	401	18	118	136	33+
Totals Second Brigade...	1,855	1,788	90	481	561	31+

Command.	Present.	Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total Killed and Wounded.	Per Cent Killed and Wounded.
FIRST DIVISION.						
<i>Third Brigade.</i>						
Col. Julius Raith (Mortally wounded);						
Lt. Col. E. P. Wood.						
17th Illinois.....	596	400	15	118	133	33+
29th Illinois.....	387	387	12	73	85	27+
43rd Illinois.....	622	500	50	118	168	32+
49th Illinois.....	558	19	58	82	81	15+
Totals Third Brigade....	2,163	1,306	135	391	467	35+
<i>Artillery.</i>						
Bat. D, 2nd Illinois....	108	108	4	9	13	12+
Bat. E, 2nd Illinois....	88	78	1	4	5	6+
Bat. D, 1st Illinois....	62	62	0	3	3	....
14th Ohio Battery.....	108	108	4	20	24	22+
Totals Artillery.....	256	356	9	36	44	12+
<i>Cavalry.</i>						
Carmichael's Ill. Co. . .	67	67	1	3	4	8
Stewart's Ill. Co.....	57	57	0	2	2	1
1st Bat., 6th Illinois... .	247	247	0	1	1	1
Totals Cavalry.....	371	371	1	6	7
Totals First Division....	6,594	6,941	285	1,372	19	27+

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Command.	Present.	Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total Killed and Wounded.	Per Cent Killed and Wounded.
SECOND DIVISION.						
Brig. Gen. W. H. L. Wallace (mortally wd.).						
<i>First Brigade.</i>						
Col. Jas. L. Tuttle.						
Field and Staff.....	.....	.....	...	1	...	.....
2nd Iowa.....	490	470	8	66	74	15+
7th Iowa.....	385	365	16	17	33	9+
12th Iowa.....	452	422	12	30	42	9+
18th Iowa.....	458	458	10	70	80	*17+
Totals First Brigade. .	1,785	1,715	40	193	229	13+
<i>Second Brigade.</i>						
Gen. J. M. McArthur;						
Col. T. Morton.						
Brigade Staff.....	.....	.....	...	1	1	.....
9th Illinois.....	593	573	61	300	361	†85+
12th Illinois.....	434	424	22	76	98	23
13th Missouri.....	434	424	10	70	80	18+
14th Missouri.....	691	591	2	0	2	1
81st Ohio.....	500	430	4	17	21	68
Totals Second Brigade.	2,652	2,442	99	464	563	19+
<i>Third Brigade.</i>						
Col. T. W. Sweeny						
(wounded);						
Col. S. D. Baldwin.						
Brigade Staff.....	.....	.....	...	.....	.....	.....
8th Iowa.....	669	659	30	72	102	15+
7th Illinois.....	526	500	20	79	99	9+
50th Illinois.....	621	601	0	50	50	9+
52nd Illinois.....	621	611	1	40	41	6+
57th Illinois.....	593	585	25	45	70	13+
58th Illinois.....	532	522	20	110	140	26+
Totals Third Brigade.	3,662	2,887	105	396	511	17+
Remarks:	*Engaged only in part.		†Largest of any regiment.			

Command.

SECOND DIVISION.

	Present.	Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total Killed and Wounded.	Per Cent Killed and Wounded.
<i>Artillery.</i>						
Bat. A, 1st Illinois..	110	106	4	24	30	27+
Bat. D, 1st Missouri.	181	173	0	6	6	5
Bat. H, 1st Missouri						
Light Artillery....	181	120	4	4	8	14+
Bat. F, 1st Missouri.						
Totals Artillery.....	472	399	8	34	44	11
<i>Cavalry.</i>						
Cos. A-B, 2nd Ill..	208	208	1	5	6	2+
Cos. A-D, 4th Ill..	86	76	2	5	7	9+
Totals Cavalry	394	384	3	10	13	4+
Totals Second Division	12,502	7,821	255	1,082	1,337	17+

THIRD DIVISION.*

Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace.

First Brigade.

Col. Morgan L. Smith.

8th Wisconsin.....	673	454	1	10	11	2
11th Indiana.....	651	510	11	51	62	12+
24th Indiana.....	624	612	6	45	51	8
Totals First Brigade.	1,948	1,576	18	106	124	7

Remarks: *Not engaged Sunday.

Command.	Present.	Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total Killed and Wounded.	Per Cent Killed and Wounded.
THIRD DIVISION.						
<i>Second Brigade.</i>						
Col. J. M. Thayer.						
23rd Indiana.....	625	555	7	35	42	7½
1st Nebraska	549	450	4	22	26	5½
58th Ohio.....	630	411	9	42	51	13
68th Ohio†.....	.....	.....	...	...	.....	.....
Totals Second Brigade...	1,804	1,416	20	99	119	8¼
<i>Third Brigade.</i>						
Col. Whittelsey.						
20th Ohio.....	491	421	1	10	11	2½
56th Ohio†.....	.....	.....	...	...	.....	.....
76th Ohio.....	714	710	0	4	4	.....
78th Ohio.....	635	594	1	9	10	1+
Totals Third Brigade...	1,840	1,725	2	23	25	1+
<i>Cavalry.</i>						
3rd Bat., 11th Illinois†.	.....	.....	...	...	.....	.....
3rd Bat., 5th Ohio†....	.....	.....	...	...	.....	.....
<i>Artillery.</i>						
Bat. I, 1st Missouri....	119	116	0	1	1	.....
9th Indiana Battery....	112	112	1	5	6	5
Totals Artillery.....	231	228	1	6	7	.....
Totals Third Division....	3,293	3,222	39	211	250	7½

Remarks: †Not engaged.

Command.	Present.	Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total Killed and Wounded.	Per Cent Killed and Wounded.
FOURTH DIVISION.							
Brig. Gen. S. A. Hurlbut.							
<i>First Brigade.</i>							
Field and Staff. . . . .	.....	.....	1	2	0	3	.....
3rd Iowa.	360	340	23	134	30	187	55
28th Illinois. . .	659	558	42	175	3	220	40+
32nd Illinois. . .	652	498	29	211	5	245	49+
41st Illinois. . .	553	470	21	73	3	97	20+
Totals First Brig.	2,224	1,866	115	589	41	751	40

Second Brigade.

Col. Jas. C. Veatch.

Field and Staff. . . . .	.....	.....	3	2	...	.....	.....
14th Illinois. . .	722	567	35	126	4	165	29+
15th Illinois. . .	639	573	49	117	0	166	29-
46th Illinois. . .	710	555	26	134	1	161	29+
25th Indiana. . .	651	552	21	115	2	138	25+
Totals Sec. Brig. .	2,822	2,247	131	492	7	630	28+

Third Brigade.

Gen. J. G. Lauman.

Field and Staff. . . . .	.....	.....	1	4	5	.....	.....
31st Indiana. . . .	594	454	21	114	141	276	60+
44th Indiana. . . .	528	330	24	174	0	198	60
17th Kentucky. . .	374	178	18	69	1	88	49+
25th Kentucky. . .	255	114	7	27	2	36	31+
Totals Third Brig.	1,751	1,076	71	388	149	598	36+

Command.	Present.	Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total Killed and Wounded.	Per Cent Killed and Wounded.
FOURTH DIVISION.							
<i>Artillery.</i>							
Ross' 2nd Mich.	90	90	0	5	56	61	67+
Bat. C, 1st Mo.	90	89	3	14	0	17	19+
Myers' 13th O.	90	80	1	8	0	9	11+
Totals Artillery.	270	259	4	27	56	87	33+
<i>Cavalry.</i>							
1st & 2nd Bns., 5th Ohio Cav.	600	306	1	6	0	7	....
Aggregate Fourth Division.....	8,067	5,754	323	1,494	192	1,877	34+
FIFTH DIVISION.							
Gen. W. T. Sherman.							
<i>First Brigade.</i>							
Col. J. A. McDowell.							
Field and Staff..	.....	.....	...	1	...	1	....
6th Iowa.....	701	606	52	94	37	619	35+
46th Iowa.....	975	817	24	174	0	98	12
40th Illinois...	597	451	47	160	9	216	47+
Totals First Brig.	2,273	1,874	123	429	46	934	29+
<i>Second Brigade.</i>							
Col. David Stewart (wounded);							
Col. T. R. Smith.							
Brigade Staff...	.....	.....	...	1	...	.....	....
55th Illinois...	657	511	51	197	27	275	53+
54th Ohio.....	615	503	15	139	12	166	33
71st Ohio.....	667	516	14	43	51	109	21
Totals Sec. Brig..	1,939	1,530	80	380	90	550	30+

Command.	Present.	Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total Killed and Wounded.	Per Cent Killed and Wounded.
FIFTH DIVISION.							
<i>Third Brigade.</i>							
Col. J. Hildebrand.							
53rd Ohio.....	646	419	9	23	2	44	10
57th Ohio.....	542	281	10	72	12	94	33
77th Ohio.....	645	513	70	221	51	218	42
Totals Third Brig.	1,833	1,215	89	316	65	356	28
<i>Fourth Brigade.</i>							
Col. R. P. Buckland.							
48th Ohio.....	606	450	12	73	18	103	22+
70th Ohio.....	854	700	57	11	77	77	11
72nd Ohio.....	647	464	15	73	45	133	28
Totals Fourth Brig.	2,107	1,614	84	157	140	313	19
<i>Artillery.</i>							
6th Ind. Bat....	115	100	1	5	0	6	6
Bat. B, 1st Ill..	112	102	1	5	5	5	5
Bat. E, 1st Ill..	103	93	1	17	0	18	19
Totals Artillery.	330	295	3	27	0	29	6
<i>Cavalry.</i>							
2nd & 3rd Bns.,							
4th Illinois..	291	213	0	6	0	6	2+
Two Cos. Thiel- man's Illinois.	150	144	0	0	0	0	0
Totals Cavalry...	441	357	0	6	0	6	
Totals Fifth Div.	8,273	7,125	369	208	270	3,813	*32+

Remarks: *Including many missing.

Command.	Present.	For Duty.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total Killed and Wounded.	Per Cent Killed and Wounded.
SIXTH DIVISION.						
Brig. Gen. B. M. Prentiss.						
<i>First Brigade.</i>						
Col. Everett Peabody (killed).						
Field and Staff.....	.....	.....	1	...	.....	.....
20th Missouri.....	832	768	27	54	82	10+
21st Missouri.....	617	617	18	46	64	10
23rd Missouri.....	575	515	27	59	86	14+
25th Missouri.....	514	402	28	84	112	27½
16th Wisconsin.....	827	658	40	188	228	34½
Totals First Brigade.	3,365	2,960	141	431	571	19+
<i>Second Brigade.</i>						
Col. Madison Miller.						
18th Missouri.....	741	552	15	82	147	28+
18th Wisconsin.....	735	635	22	63	85	13+
61st Illinois.....	457	361	12	45	57	15+
Totals Second Brigade. ...	1,933	1,548	49	190	289	18+
<i>Not Brigaded.</i>						
16th Iowa.....	785	712	17	101	118	16½
5th Ohio Battery.....	137	121	1	19	20	16+
Munch's 1st Minnesota.	122	110	3	8	11	10
Totals Not Brigaded.....	265	231	4	27	31	14+
<i>Cavalry.</i>						
1st & 2nd Bns., 11th Ill.	626	366	3	0	3	....
Totals Sixth Division. ...	6,874	5,817	214	749	1,112	17½
Totals Six Divisions, Army of the Tennessee	3,283	3,222	39	211	250	7

ARMY OF THE OHIO.

Commanded by Major General Don Carlos Buell, at the Battle of Shiloh, April 7, 1862 (not engaged on Sunday).

Command.

FIFTH DIVISION.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Brig. Gen. Wm. Nelson.			
<i>Tenth Brigade.</i>			
Col. Jacob Ammen.			
Field and Staff.....	...	...	...
36th Indiana*.....	9	36	45
6th Ohio*.....	7	66	73
49th Ohio*.....	10	86	96
39th Indiana*.....	2	34	36
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals Tenth Brigade.....	28	222	250
<i>Nineteenth Brigade.</i>			
Col. Wm. B. Hazen.			
6th Kentucky*.....	10	93	103
9th Indiana*.....	17	153	160
41st Ohio*.....	21	111	132
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals Nineteenth Brigade....	48	357	395
<i>Twenty-second Brigade.</i>			
Col. S. D. Bruce.			
1st Kentucky*.....	11	56	67
2nd Kentucky*.....	14	59	73
20th Kentucky*.....	3	23	26
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals Twenty-second Brigade.	28	138	166
<i>Not Brigaded</i>			
2nd Indiana Cavalry*.....	...	2	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals Fourth Division.....	89	603	692

Remarks: *Not engaged Sunday.

Command.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
FIFTH DIVISION.			
Brig. Gen. T. L. Crittenden.			
<i>Eleventh Brigade.</i>			
Brig. Gen. J. T. Boyle.			
19th Ohio*.....	4	41	45
59th Ohio*.....	6	51	57
19th Kentucky*.....	15	76	91
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals Eleventh Brigade.....	25	168	193
<i>Fourteenth Brigade.</i>			
Col. W. S. Smith.			
13th Ohio*.....	11	48	59
11th Kentucky*.....	5	48	53
26th Kentucky*.....	9	55	64
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals Fourteenth Brigade....	25	151	176
<i>Not Brigaded.</i>			
3rd Kentucky Cavalry.....	...	...	...
1st Ohio Light Artillery (G)	2	2	4
4th U. S. Artillery (H & M)	2	6	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals Fifth Division*.....	60	377	437
SIXTH DIVISION.			
Brig. Gen. T. N. Wood.			
<i>Twentieth Brigade.</i>			
Brig. Gen. J. A. Garfield.			
64th Ohio†.....	...	...	...
65th Ohio†.....	...	...	...
13th Michigan†.....	...	...	...
31st Indiana.....	...	...	...

RECAPITULATION.

Command.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Totals.
Second Division.....	94	823	7	918
Fourth Division.....	93	603	20	716
Fifth Division.....	60	377	28	505
Sixth Division.....	.....	4	.....	4
Totals Army of the	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Ohio.....	247	1,807	55	2,143
Aggregate.....	1,754	8,408	2,885	13,047

Remarks: *Not engaged Sunday. †Not engaged.

CHAPTER XXXI.

VERIFICATION.

For the purpose of verifying these tremendous losses, it is thought to be proper to present the names in full of every man either killed or seriously wounded in the Battle of Shiloh, as the same is officially shown by the proclamation of Governor Dick Yates, the War Governor of Illinois, and published in the Springfield (Illinois) *State Journal* of April 22, 1862, kindly sent me by Colonel James R. B. Van Cleave. It should also be remarked in this connection that this list includes only the killed and badly wounded; but there were several others who were slightly wounded which were not included in this report.

*Names in Full of the Killed and Seriously Wounded,
28th Illinois Infantry.*

Field and Staff.—Killed: Lieutenant Colonel Thomas L. Kilpatrick. Mortally Wounded: Adjutant B. T. Mead. Wounded: Barclay C. Gillam. Total, 3.

Company A.—Killed: Corporal Jeremiah G. Heater; Privates, Daniel W. Newton, Squire A. Rosebraugh. Wounded: Corporal Henry Walker; Privates, George G. Lapham, Samuel McKinney, Richard Lynch, Harry Keith, Henry McCourt, Moses J. Radcliff, Daniel M. Crosby, William Roby, John R. Lurkins, John E. Nash, Truman C. Pond, William P. Price, and Samuel McComb. Total, 17.

Company B.—Killed: None. Wounded: First Lieutenant David C. Troutner; Sergeants, James C. Clark, Pine Dexter; Corporals, Robert H. Kinman, Robert Young; Privates, John Fitzsimons, Robert Hunter, Amos Bagby, Charles

Bagby, Greenberry Blain, Jasper Dorset, Francis Denley, and Tip Winans. Total, 13.

Company C.—Killed: Sergeant William P. Dyer; Privates, Timothy Daley, John Sherman. Wounded: First Lieutenants, George W. P. Eby, James H. Anderson; Privates, George Parker, Andrew J. Langford, Alexander Murray, John F. Fesse, Daniel C. Evans, George T. Hanhack, William Hoots, Frederick Leitzer, James Warren, and Irwin Young. Total, 15.

Company D.—Killed: Sergeants, Robert Pearson, Albert S. Mulligan, Solomon K. Shepherd, George H. Teas; Privates, James M. Welch, Albert S. Mulligan, Sol. K. Shepherd. Wounded: Lieutenant John B. Pearson; Sergeants, Charles Conover, Andrew W. McGauhey, Elijah F. Patrick; Corporals, Joseph T. Walker, Samuel Sharp, John W. McLaughlin; Privates, Robert Huddleson, Myron Hyatt, Van H. Courtright, Rowan S. Simmons, Francis W. Freeland, John H. Adreth, Ed L. Hobart, Alexander Henderson, Sidney W. Botts, Franklin Pecarre, Michael Johnson, John Norman, Lambert Hillyer, Isaac Hillyer, Azro B. Welch, Josephus Russell, Seymour Nichols, John Smith, Samuel McGee, Walter Mengels, and Henry H. Henderson. Total, 35.

Company E.—Killed: Corporals, John B. Willard, Major H. Camby, Edward G. Jenkins, Marven V. Terry, John Whitson. Wounded: Captain John M. Griffin; Lieutenants, Samuel G. Walk, David C. Brummel; Privates, Samuel Andrews, Leonard Ames, Thomas J. Coulter, Ebenezer M. Foreman, James V. Hendricks, Thomas Heavner, Samuel G. Hall, George C. Hills, John Hutchins, William Keller, William A. Lacey, Joseph E. Long, John R. Sitten, George Whitson, and Francis, White. Total, 23.

Company F.—Killed: Privates, James T. Jones, Peter Farnhein. Wounded: Captain William J. Estell; Lieutenant Thomas Swaringuin; Corporals, William Pollock, John W. Hicks, Thomas E. Crawley; Privates, Jacob Ackelson, Jesse

D. Braey, Columbus Crosby, Jacob Homer, William B. Killian, Daniel Lucas, William Meeker, William Nichols, Elijah Nichols, John Small, Elijah Ferguson, and James Harmon. Total, 19.

Company G.—Killed: Privates, Christopher Webster, Green B. Tucker, George W. Ingram, David Killian, Albert C. Lesley, Jacob Dance. Wounded: Sergeants, James M. Mitchell, William Deal; Corporals, Calvin Boyles, A. J. Revarch, Francis M. Robbins; Privates, William A. Canada, Hiram Gossage, Charles Haskell, Abel Jones, Bouredder A. Miller, Enoch Rittenhouse, George W. Suddeth, William T. Tyson, and William A. Vanorder. Total, 20.

Company H.—Killed: Corporal William Pittenger; Privates, Eli P. Wood, Calvin Harmon. Wounded: Sergeants, Edwin P. Durell, William H. Kinsey; Corporals, William H. Barren, William H. Wier; Privates, J. M. Arnold, Lemuel Burton, Thomas Brown, Peter Brown, John G. Carter, Daniel M. Easley, John R. Easley, Samuel Etnire, Stanfield Harmon, Frank A. Hall, Edward Milby, George W. Morrison, James Potts, Edward B. Sparks, Jesse W. Wiley, William Dollar, William H. Barron (died in St. Louis Hospital, April 26, 1862). Total, 24.

Company I.—Killed: Corporals, William Carton, James H. Rogers; Privates, William Huntley, James White. Wounded: Captain Elisha Hurt; Sergeants, Horatio Walker, Alvin Jessup; Corporals, Andrew A. Veach, Francis M. Likes, James Holmes; Privates, Isaac Bridgewater, James Badger, John Currie, James T. Demoree, John W. Carton, Henry Hammond, Dick Johnson, Edward F. Larue, John S. Kinman, Patrick Murphy, James Price, Francis M. Stark, and Isaac N. Wood. Total, 23.

Company K.—Killed: Corporals, Joseph T. Green, Adam Forsyth; Private, Cyrus Davis. Wounded, Captain William M. Roberts; Lieutenant John B. Newton; Sergeants, Albert

M. Moses, Henry Ebert, James K. Scott; Privates, Benjamin F. Ellis, John Hunter, Francis Montgomery, James Gardener, Joseph Miller, Richard Bernard, William Gardener, Robert Beaton, and James M. Carpenter. Total, 17.

The foregoing constitutes a list of 209 men killed or seriously wounded in the 28th Illinois Infantry alone, or more than 49 per cent.

The author has been unable to obtain a statement of the killed and wounded in all the other regiments of the Army of the Tennessee which were engaged both days of the battle. Probably some 20 or 30 of those above, reported as wounded, died within a few days after the battle, and should have been reported as mortally wounded.

CHAPTER XXXII.

COMPARING SHILOH WITH OTHER BATTLES.

Inasmuch as it is nearly impossible to realize the magnitude of vast numbers, except by comparison, it is thought best to compare the casualties of the only five divisions engaged throughout the Battle of Shiloh with the loss of a like number of divisions in the Battle of Gettysburg and a number of other great battles in Europe.

At the great Battle of Gettysburg, waged July 1, 2, and 3, 1863, the five divisions sustaining the greatest loss therein are the following:

Second Division, Second Corps.....	1,647
Third Division, Second Corps.....	1,291
First Division, Third Corps.....	2,011
Second Division, Third Corps.....	2,092
Third Division, Eleventh Corps.....	1,476

Total	8,517 ⁴⁸
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The casualties of the only five divisions engaged throughout the Battle of Shiloh are as follows:

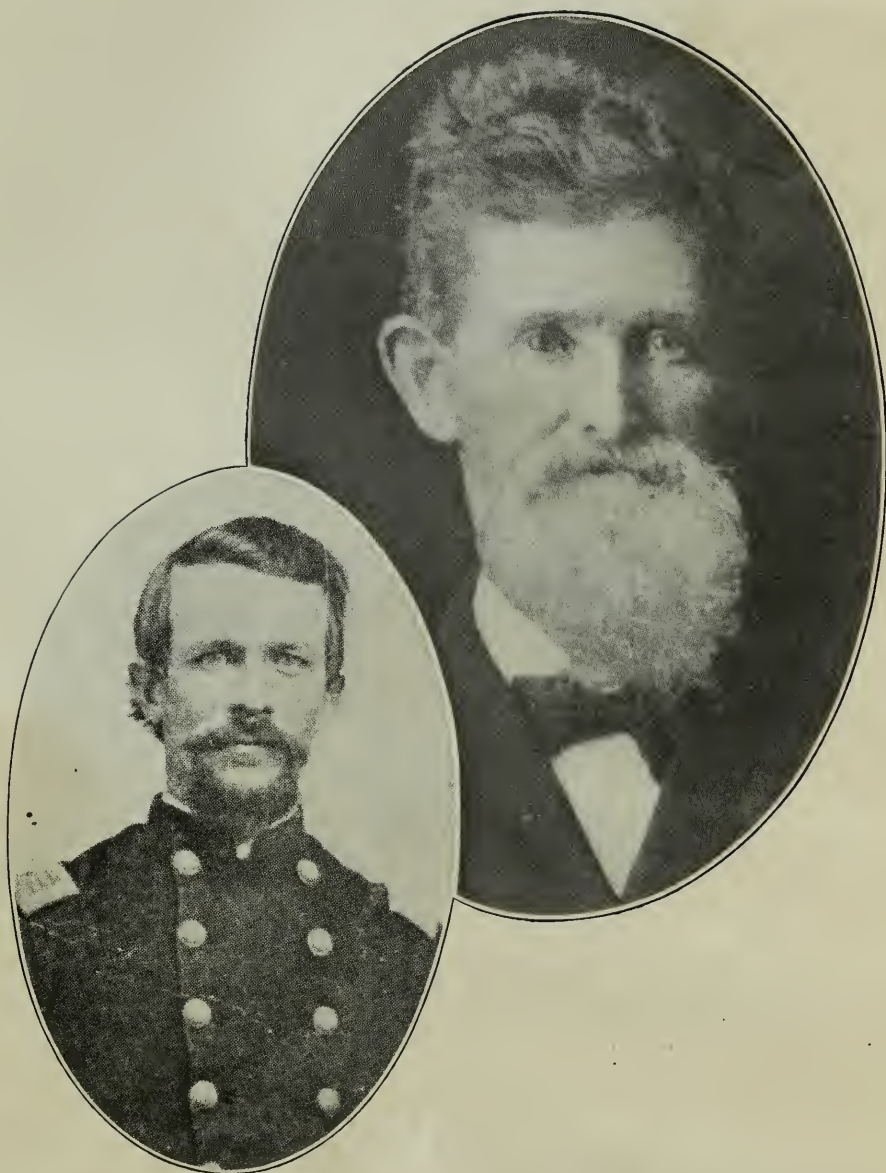
First Division, Sixteenth Corps.....	1,742
Second Division, Sixteenth Corps.....	1,821
Fourth Division, Sixteenth Corps.....	1,877
Fifth Division, Sixteenth Corps.....	2,253
Sixth Division, Sixteenth Corps.....	2,112

Total.....	9,805 ⁴⁹
Subtract.....	8,517

Excess at Shiloh.....	1,288
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It is thus conclusively shown that the Union loss at Shiloh is 1,288 in excess of that of the five divisions sustaining the greatest loss at Gettysburg.

⁴⁸27 Rebellion Records, Part I., pp. 173-183. ⁴⁹10 *Ibid.*, pp. 100-104.



COL. HINMAN RHODES,
28th Illinois Infantry.
Photographed at Natchez, Miss., 1863.

GEORGE WHITFIELD REESE
at 80.

Casualties in Other Great Battles.

The total percentage of Union casualties at Shiloh	
in killed and wounded were.....	30 per cent. ⁵⁰
At the Battle of Gettysburg.....	26 per cent. ⁵¹
The total casualties at Antietam were.....	16 per cent.
At Chickamauga.....	21 per cent. ⁵²
At Waterloo.....	20 per cent. ⁵³
At Cold Harbor.....	16 per cent.
At Manassas.....	20 per cent. ⁵⁴

It may thus be seen that the losses at Shiloh are 18 per centum greater than those at Waterloo, which is generally regarded as the deadliest great battle in Europe since civilization began.

From all of which we can clearly comprehend the enormous loss at Shiloh.

Antietam.

At the great Battle of Antietam, Maryland, the total loss of both armies amounted to 23,572, or 20 per centum.

Battle of Waterloo.

At the great Battle of Waterloo, waged in Belgium in 1815, the percentage of loss in killed and wounded was slightly under 20 per centum.

And as the foregoing are believed to be the greatest losses in killed and wounded of all time, it may readily be seen that Shiloh was the deadliest of all.

⁵⁰5 American Reference Library, p. 44.

⁵¹5 *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁵²5 Chambers' Cyclopedia, p. 208.

⁵³5 "Truth at Shiloh," p. 58.

⁵⁴5 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Casualties at the Battle of Shiloh by States.

	Killed.	Wounded and Missing.
Illinois.....	738	3,164
Ohio.....	211	1,354
Iowa.....	203	770
Indiana.....	150	1,076
Missouri.....	104	402
Nebraska.....	5	22
Pennsylvania.....	3	10
Michigan... ..	50	183
Wisconsin... ..	86	436
Minnesota.. ..	4	31
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals.. ..	1,534	7,368

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WAS SHILOH A SURPRISE?

Whether or no Shiloh was a surprise depends wholly on what it takes to constitute a surprise. And, inasmuch as men differ in opinion as to this, it is proper to present the facts surrounding the battle, so each one can determine for himself this important question.

Major E. G. Ricker's Warning.

On April 1st, Major E. G. Ricker, of the 5th Ohio Cavalry, reported to General Sherman as follows:

"In pursuance of the order issued to me at 2:30 p. m. of said day [Saturday, April 4th], to proceed with 150 men to look for Major Crockett, a lieutenant, and five or six men, who had wandered outside the pickets and were supposed to be lost or captured, we reached the pickets about 3:30 p. m., and learned that Colonel Buckland was out with two companies of infantry. We moved on for about two miles, when we heard considerable firing on our right. Knowing the ground, I at once ordered two companies to follow the road, with the view of taking the enemy in the rear, while I moved against the flank with the other two companies. We found a large cavalry force slowly retiring before Colonel Buckland and his command. There is a strip of fallen timber at this point, that retarded our movement very much for a short time. As soon as our men were clear of the obstacle, they dashed on to the enemy, scattering them in every direction and pursuing them some three or four hundred yards. When passing the brow of the hill, our advance was opened on by *three or four pieces of artillery*, and at least two regiments of infantry and a large cavalry force. So near was our advance to this line of battle of the enemy that one of our men was carried within the enemy's line by his horse and captured, while another shot one of their gunners down at his gun. Two of our men lost their carbines at this point. I then ordered my men to fall back about 200 yards, bringing a piece of high ground between me and the enemy.

"Colonel Buckland coming up at this time with his command we formed and retired in good order, bringing off nine prisoners. Not less than twenty of the enemy were left dead; also a number of horses were killed and wounded. We brought off his saddle and equipments. Nine wounded prisoners were brought in at night, making eighteen in all.

E. G. RICKER,

"Major, 5th Ohio Cavalry Volunteers.

"Colonel W. H. TAYLOR, Commanding Regiment."'⁵⁵

Major General Hardee's Account of Same.

CAMP NEAR MICKEY'S, April 4.

"The cavalry and infantry of the enemy attacked Colonel Clanton's Regiment, which was posted, as I before informed you, about 500 or 600 yards in advance of our lines. Colonel Clanton retired, and the enemy's cavalry followed until they came near our infantry and artillery, when they were gallantly repulsed with slight loss.

W. J. HARDEE, *Major General.*⁵⁶

"General BRAXTON BRAGG, Chief of Staff."

Colonel Buckland's Account of Same.

"HEADQUARTERS FOURTH BRIGADE,

"CAMP SHILOH, April 5, 1862.

"*Sir*.—About 2:30 p. m. [April 4th] I went out to the field where Major Crockett was drilling the 72nd Regiment. Just as I reached the field quite a brisk firing commenced on the left of our pickets. I directed Major Crockett to march the regiment around that way to camp, and rode ahead to ascertain what the firing meant. I found that Lieutenant Herbert, of the 70th Ohio, had six guards under him taken prisoners. I sent Lieutenant Geer to inform Colonel Cockerill, and request the Colonel to report the fact to General Sherman. Major Crockett had directed Company B, 72nd Regiment, to bear off to the right of our picket-line as skirmishers. After reaching the house where the guard was, I directed the Major to take Company H, leaving the balance of the regiment at the house. Lieutenant Geer returned and informed me that General Sherman would send out 100 cavalry. I returned to camp, supposing Major Crockett would soon follow me with the regiment. After remaining some time, I concluded to ride back. When I reached the house, Major Crockett had not returned, but constant firing was heard in the direction he had taken. I took about 100

⁵⁵10 Rebellion Records, p. 92. ⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 93.

men of Companies A and D and marched in direction of the firing, supposing it to be not far off, and that Major Crockett was surrounded by Rebel cavalry. We had proceeded some distance when we met some men of Company H, who informed me that Major Crockett was probably taken prisoner, and that Companies B and H were separated. The firing continued—not rapid, but pretty regular, which led me to the conclusion that Company B was surrounded and were defending themselves against cavalry. We pushed on at double-quick, notwithstanding the severe storm. I rode some distance ahead of the men and discovered the enemy, as I supposed, about to make a charge. They charged, and Company H returned the charge, as Captain Raymond has since informed me. My men came up most gallantly and opened a destructive fire on the enemy, who soon retired to an open space and commenced forming. I had changed the front of my line to correspond, when our cavalry came up and the enemy fled. The cavalry pursued, and we followed until it was ascertained that the enemy were in force a *short distance ahead*, when we returned in company with the cavalry.

“Captain Raymond, Company B, informed me they had been surrounded by the enemy more than an hour—first by about 100 or 150, and that, just before I came up, they were reinforced to about 400, and that they were all ready to charge when my men commenced firing upon them, firing about fifteen rounds.

“Company H also had a severe fight with the Rebel cavalry.⁵⁷

“R. P. BUCKLAND,

“Colonel, Commanding Fourth Brigade.”

It is thus conclusively shown by the official records of the War Department that General Sherman was officially warned, only the day before the great battle opened, that the enemy was at hand with infantry, artillery, and cavalry, and ready to begin the battle at any moment. And notwithstanding all of which General Sherman replied to Major Ricker: “*Tut, tut! You militia are too easily scared.*”

It is too conclusive for argument that every Union division at Shiloh on Sunday morning, April 6, 1862, with the sole exception of that commanded by General Prentiss, was then and there taken completely by surprise.

General Buell says: “No army could have been less

⁵⁷See official report of Colonel Buckland, 10 Rebellion Records, p. 91-92.

prepared for battle than was the Army of the Tennessee on Sunday, April 6, 1862."

And when this severe skirmishing was thus reported to General Sherman by the commanding officer of the 5th Ohio Cavalry, General Sherman brazenly replied to this officer: "You militia are too easily scared. General Beauregard will never dare to attack me here."⁵⁸

And bear well in mind forever that General Sherman was then and there in command of all the troops at Pittsburg Landing; for General Grant was at his headquarters at the Cherry mansion in Savannah, on the opposite side of the river and nearly nine miles away.

And yet, in the face of all this, and based on this information received from General Sherman, General Grant wired Halleck at St. Louis, at the hour of midnight, Saturday night, less than three hours before the battle began:

"I have scarcely the faintest idea of an attack."⁵⁹

And yet, at the very time this dispatch was sent to General Halleck, the enemy had closely coiled all around the five divisions at Shiloh, in three solid lines, ready to begin the slaughter at the first peep of day.

And this dispatch of Grant to Halleck was undoubtedly based on the following from Sherman:

"PITTSBURG LANDING, April 5.

"I have no doubt that nothing will occur to-day [Sunday] more than some picket firing. The enemy is saucy, but got the worst of it yesterday, and will not press our pickets far. I shall not be drawn out far, unless with certainty of advantage. *And I do not apprehend anything like an attack on our position.*"⁶⁰

And still more than all this, on that very day both Grant and Sherman were officially notified by Halleck that the enemy had concentrated at Corinth and vicinity a vast army

⁵⁸10 Rebellion Records, pp. 90-92. ⁵⁹*Ibid.*, Part II., p. 93.

⁶⁰This is based on the repeated assertions of the late Comrade William Jessup, 5th Ohio Cavalry, who witnessed the declaration of General Sherman.

of not far from 80,000 men, or more than twice as many as were then at Pittsburg Landing.

And yet, in the very face of all this warning, not a single shovelful of dirt was ever thrown up, not a single trench or other protection was ever provided, but all was left just as it was at Creation's dawn.

And besides this, there was at Shiloh no "hollow road of Chain."⁶¹

With reference to this surprise, General Buell emphatically says:

"So far as preparation for battle is concerned, no army could well have been taken more by surprise than the Army of the Tennessee on the 6th of April."⁶²

⁶¹"Les Miserables," p. 376. ⁶²10 Rebellion Records, Part II., p, 94.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE PAST RISES BEFORE ME.

Now as I look backward down the long avenues of fast-receding time for threescore years, filled everywhere to overflow with both good and ill,

The past rises before me—

not like a dream, but as a stern and omnipresent reality: And again I seem to hear the boom of the great guns assailing Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor.

And again I hear the screaming fifes and alarming drums at the head of great processions of men rushing to recruiting stations to defend our glorious land, and watch them sign the long rolls and pledge their lives and services to protect and defend the glorious banner of the free.

Again I see the hasty partings of fathers and sons, of weeping mothers and darling boys, of wives and husbands, as the soldiers climb on board the trains; again I see the faithful wife raise aloft the living and breathing evidence of her love, just as the shrill locomotives whistle and trains depart for the front. Already they have gone, leaving behind thousands of vacant chairs never to be filled again.

The past rises before me, as I look away backward at that eventful Sunday morn at Shiloh: And again I hear the eight bells of the wooden gunboat *Tyler*, lying in the Tennessee River just off the mouth of Dill's Branch, as the faithful watch proclaims "All is well," just as Major Powell, with five companies of the 25th Missouri, is hastening away out on the Eastern Corinth road to ascertain whether the enemy is lurking round about the Seay field; again I see the Major cautiously approaching the advance pickets of the enemy un-



At 86.

SAMUEL M. HOWARD.

At 22.

der Major Hardcastle, of Hardee's corps, and hear the reports of rifles in the distance.

Again I see Colonel Moore, of the 21st Missouri, with five companies of his regiment, hastening out in the same direction, just as the quivering notes of the whip-poor-will, resounding through the forest, bid farewell to the departing night.

The past rises before me: And again I hear, reverberating through the forest, the sprightly reveilles from the fifes and drums of the 77 regiments of infantry, and the screaming bugles of the 24 batteries of artillery and 18 troops of cavalry, located everywhere in the forest, summoning to roll-call more than 36,000 soldiers, and hear the orderlies call the rolls from A to Z as each soldier answers, "Here!"

And presently, again I see the king of day ushering in that cloudless Sunday morn of primitive beauty and inhale its bewitching fragrance.

Again I see the convalescent patients in the hospitals, with the aid of rudely constructed canes, hobble forth to the upturned lapels of the hospital tents and gaze outward upon Creation's most marvelous parade. Beautiful! how beautiful!

The past rises before me: And I hear the reports of rifles in the distance, but am told these reports come from pickets firing off their guns for return to camp; but none are seen marching in.

And now I listen for more. Hush! Hark! Did you not hear it? Surely that is the boom of a great gun away out beyond the camps of Prentiss. And right now, swiftly as thought can follow thought, comes another—and another—and another.

And now comes the long roll, the advance agent of Death, summoning all to arms. Again I see the hurrying to and fro, the sudden partings to meet no more, the frenzied rush for accouterments and arms, the speedy falling in of companies and regiments, troops and batteries, the onward rush for the

color lines, the mountings in hot haste, and the coming and going of orderlies on foaming horses with pressing dispatches for assistance at the front. And now comes the regimental order, "Forward! double-quick, march!"

And now the boys disappear in the forest till every camp is deserted. Now again I see the heavens filled with countless thousands of tiny birds seeking by flight to shun the wrath of man.

The past rises before me: And again I hear the roar and crash of 300 great guns and 80,000 muskets, till the whole earth rocks beneath it all.

Again I see General Prentiss rushing Peabody's Brigade away out on the Eastern Corinth road to support Colonel Moore, as the latter is slowly falling back in seemly order before the corps of Polk and Hardee; see the brave Peabody wage the unequal strife of one small brigade against two corps of the enemy; again see Peabody as he is slowly falling back till near the camps of Prentiss, where he is reinforced by the whole Sixth Division, and falls dead from his horse just as the enemy swarms around both flanks of the Sixth Division, putting to flight the heroes of General Prentiss, who flee through the ranks of the Fourth Division, which is hastening to their relief.

The past rises before me when the ominous hour of 10 o'clock overtakes the combatants, when more than 80,000 men, with 300 great guns and 80,000 muskets, wage the deadliest great battle of all time; till more than 26,000 soldiers fall upon that fearful field, either killed or wounded, while everywhere the very flesh is quivering on the bones of both the living and the dead.

Again I feel the earth toss and tremble beneath the awful concussion, as the Saturnalia of death sweeps onward, with no protection for either man or beast, except that scantily supplied by Nature at Creation's dawn. Again I see and hear the screaming and bursting of shells and the closing in of the

dreadful circling walls of brimstone fire—flash on flash, flash on flash, flash on flash.

Again I hear the heartrending appeals for help by the mangled and dying, just as the dry leaves of the forest take fire in front of General Lauman's Brigade, adding still more misery to the inferno.

The past rises before me: Again I see the whole Peach Orchard, where General Albert Sidney Johnston fell, so thickly carpeted with dead that one can walk in any direction clear across the same, stepping on the bodies of the dead all the time, without a foot touching the ground.

Again I see more than half the homes between the Alleghenies on the east and the Rockies on the west, all dressed in deep mourning for the loved ones who never returned from Shiloh.

Let us then, on each and every anniversary as long as time shall last, return to the Battlefield of Shiloh and pay our reverent homage to Shiloh's sainted dead; for

"Last noon beheld them full of lusty life,
Last eve in Beauty's circle proudly gay,
The midnight brought the signal-sound of strife,
The morn the marshalling in arms,—the day
Battle's magnificently stern array!
The thunder-clouds close o'er it, which when rent
The earth is covered thick with other clay,
Which her own clay shall cover, heaped and pent,
Rider and horse,—friend, foe,—in one red burial blent!

* * * * *

"And Ardennes⁶³ waves above them her green leaves,
Bedewed with Nature's tear-drops,
Grieving, if aught inanimate e'er grieves,
Over the unreturning brave—alas!
Ere evening to be trodden like the grass,
Which now beneath them, but above shall grow
In its next verdure, when this fiery mass
Of living valor, rolling on the foe
And burning with high hope, shall moulder, cold and low."

—"Childe Harold."

⁶³The forest of Shiloh.

Conclusion.

Let me now add that, some 90 miles or more from Pass a la Outer, away out in the stormy Gulf of Mexico, *en route* from Vera Cruz to New Orleans, arising from the hidden rocks of Ship Island Shoals; there stands a lighthouse with a great revolving light, erected years and years ago by Uncle Sam to warn all shipping off this deadly reef.

This great lighthouse has two windows, located on opposite sides, which, during all the hours of night, are revolved by clockwork around and around, one window transmitting a light of natural color, while the other window shoots forth a light as red as blood.

One dark and dreary night in '66, when homeward-bound from Dixie's war, while standing beside the foremast of the good *St. Mary*, watching the alternating flashes of this great revolving luminary lighting up the sea for miles and miles around, now with light of natural color and next with light as red as blood, and repeating these alternating flashes, to myself saying:

"Fire and blood; fire and blood; fire and blood."

And now, looking backward at the alternating flashes of brimstone fire at Shiloh during that fearful Sunday, and recalling again that scene on the good *St. Mary* on that dreary night at sea, I feel like repeating those selfsame words:

"Blood and fire! blood and fire! blood and fire!"

And, in conclusion, let me say to you now, if I never say it more: The 5,196 heroes who thus fell at Shiloh did not fall in vain; for as surely as Jehovah reigns the world around, and as long as this rock-ribbed river shall bathe the base of their silent mansions and carry onward the greetings of the mountains to the sea, endless generations of men and women, with eyes dimmed by scalding tears, will pay reverent homage to Shiloh's sainted dead, while angels from the great white

throne, with outstretched arms of silent greeting, will welcome Shiloh's awakened dead to that haven above where War can never wage and Sorrow can never come.

SAMUEL MEEK HOWARD.

Gettysburg, South Dakota, 1921.

CHAPTER XXXV.

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

“Of all the sad words of tongue or pen,
The saddest are these, ‘It might have been.’”
—*Whittier.*

Without questioning the honesty and sincerity of all the Confederate accounts of the Battle of Shiloh, it can be easily shown that each and all thereof are akin to the highly colored visions of a dream.

In the “Life” of his father, page 600, Preston Johnston presents a correct diagram of the Battlefield of Shiloh at the close of the fighting on Sunday, which is here reproduced for the information of the studious.

A brief inspection thereof will show the following important facts:

1. That General Grant’s army was not “cowering” under the bluff of the Tennessee River, as claimed in several Confederate accounts.

2. That, on the contrary, it was still holding the whole Siege-gun Battery line, which runs exactly at right angle to the river, and for a distance of three miles or more.

3. That the Army of the Tennessee still held possession of the important bridge over Snake Creek, providing a means of retreat in case of necessity.

4. That the main road from Pittsburg Landing to Savannah led over this bridge and afforded ample facility for General Grant to cross at his pleasure and unite with General Lew Wallace’s Third Division, which had not been engaged in the battle or fired a single shot; and this was then the best provided and best drilled division in the Army of the Tennessee.

Now, for the sake of argument, let us concede that Al-

oert Sidney Johnston had carried the Siege-gun Battery line. What would have followed as the most likely result?

It may readily be seen from the accompanying diagram that, in that event, General Grant could have withdrawn across the Snake Creek bridge and united with his Third Division, then the best drilled and equipped division of the Army of the Tennessee; that he could have halted the whole Army of the Ohio at Crump's Landing, which would have given him a superior force in numbers to what the Confederates had when they began the battle. Undoubtedly he would have won the battle of Shiloh, just the same, on Monday; and the fall of Corinth would have followed as a matter of course.

But let us suppose Albert Sidney Johnston had not fallen at Shiloh in front of the 28th Illinois Infantry, or anywhere else. Let us suppose the Confederates had not only won at Shiloh, but had actually conquered a peace. In such case, what would have followed?

Thereby it would have proclaimed to all the world that the great Republic was bound together only by ropes of sand, and the last hopes of the toiling millions would have been buried in deep and dark oblivion. It would have conclusively proven that Thomas Jefferson and Stephen A. Douglas were entirely mistaken in their efforts to make this an ocean-bound republic. It would have blazed the way for Mason and Dixon's line to become another Chinese wall. It would have cut in twain the father of all rivers.

And what more? It would firmly have established the right of any State to secede at will. Carried out logically, it would have established the right of any county of any State to withdraw and establish a government of its own, and that any city, town, or neighborhood might do likewise at pleasure. In all probability, South Carolina would soon have withdrawn from the Southern Confederacy. And most likely other States would soon have followed, until the great Republic would have degenerated to a mass of petty govern-

ments, *à la* South America, to be kicked and cuffed around by the dominant powers of Europe and Asia for years and years to come.

And what more? It would have riveted the blight of human slavery on the far South for untold years to come, and the flesh and blood of innocent men, women, and children would have continued to be bought and sold from the auction-block in Charleston, New Orleans, St. Louis, and elsewhere for untold years to come. And still more than all this, the degradation of labor throughout the entire South would have been even worse, if possible, than it was before the war. And all this, too, in face of the fact that, since time began, no country has ever prospered with menial labor. It would have encouraged the aristocracy of the far South to continue to recline on the lap of Plenty at the expense of all who toil.

“Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.
Princes and lords may flourish or may fade—
A breath can make them, as a breath has made.
But a bold peasantry, the country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.”

And, finally, it would have established nabobs in their right to rule the South, which, still being cursed with human slavery, could never have built up her Atlantas and Birminghams of to-day. And still more than this, the great Republic being thus segregated, America never could have sent her conquering heroes to France, and the Kaiser would have won the World War and enthroned the divine right of kings to rule the world around.

And in the event that Secession had won America's war, the whole civilized world would have lapsed back to barbarism again for untold years to come. All of which is too horrible for contemplation.

But, happily for the toiling millions the world around, General Grant won at Shiloh, the wicked rebellion was crushed



COLONEL AMORY K. JOHNSON AND STAFF.

forever, the Kaiser was dethroned and became a fugitive, the South has entered upon a glorious era of prosperity never dreamed of, and reunited America has already become the dominant power of all the world.

In consequence of all which, with giant arms stretching clear across the Atlantic Ocean, America overthrew the Kaiser in the late World War and sent him to exile, thereby ending forever the divine right of kings to rule the people without their consent, and restored the hopes of toil the world around.

Glorious America!

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CONCLUSION.

From the foregoing pages the following important facts have been conclusively established by the highest and most reliable authorities, to-wit:

I. That the War of the Great Rebellion was not waged for the destruction of Slavery.

II. That it was waged solely to save the Union of the American States.

III. That the Battle of Shiloh was the turning-point of America's greatest war.

IV. That there were no iron-clad gunboats at Pittsburg Landing at the time of the Battle of Shiloh.

V. That none were within 300 miles of Pittsburg Landing at the time of the great Battle of Shiloh.

VI. That General Grant's army was not driven down under the bluffs of the Tennessee River at the close of the fighting on Sunday, or at any other time.

VII. That, on the contrary, at the close of the fighting on Sunday, General Grant's army held a line of battle three miles long, and *at right angle to the Tennessee River*.

VIII. That the Battle of Shiloh was practically decided at 5 p. m. on Sunday, and before the arrival on the field of the Army of the Ohio, and was so declared to be by General Bragg, the Confederate commander on the firing-line.

IX. That the Army of the Ohio rendered glorious service on Monday, and that no troops who ever fought could have done better.

X. That the loss in killed and wounded of the only five divisions which were engaged throughout the Battle of Shiloh were the greatest by far of all the great battles of all time.

XI. That Horace Greeley's History, so far as it relates to the Battle of Shiloh, is absolutely false, and that all school historians are called upon to correct their accounts of the Battle of Shiloh.

XII. That the Battle of Shiloh was really won by General Stephen A. Hurlbut, of Illinois, through the wonderful military genius of General Grant.

THE AUTHOR.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

"THE BIVOUAC OF THE DEAD."

At the Battle of Shiloh, Theodore O'Hara, late of Danville, Kentucky, served in the capacity of inspector general on the staff of Albert Sidney Johnston, the Confederate Commander-in-chief. But Theodore O'Hara is best known as the author of "The Bivouac of the Dead," which is universally conceded to be by far the greatest military poem of all time. Extracts from this great poem are posted in tablets of bronze in every National Military Cemetery in America, to be read and admired for time to come by all. More than this, extracts from no other poem appear in any other National Cemetery.

With this brief introduction, we now produce complete

The Bivouac of the Dead.

The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
The soldier's last tattoo;
No more on Life's parade shall meet
That brave and fallen few.
On Fame's eternal camping-ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards, with silent round,
The bivouac of the dead.

No rumor of the foe's advance
Now swells upon the wind;
No troubled thought at midnight haunts
Of loved ones left behind;
No vision of the morrow's strife,
The warrior's dream alarms;
No braying horn or screaming file
At dawn shall call to arms.

Their shivered swords are red with rust,
Their plumed heads are bowed;
Their haughty banner, trailed in dust,
Is now their martial shroud;
And plenteous funeral tears have washed
The red stains from each brow;
And the proud forms, by battle gashed,
Are free from anguish now.

The neighing troop, the flashing blade,
The bugle's stirring blast,
The charge, the dreadful cannonade,
The din and shout, are past;
Nor War's wild note, nor Glory's peal,
Shall thrill with fierce delight
Those breasts that nevermore may feel
The rapture of the fight.

Like the fierce northern hurricane
That sweeps his great plateau,
Flushed with the triumph yet to gain,
Came down the serried foe.
Who heard the thunder of the fray
Break o'er the field beneath,
Knew well the watchword of the day
Was "Victory or death."

Full many a norther's breath has swept
O'er Angostura's plain,
And long the pitying sky has wept
Above its moldered slain.
The raven's scream, or eagle's flight,
Or shepherd's pensive lay,
Alone awakes each sullen height
That frowned o'er that dread fray.

Sons of the Dark and Bloody Ground,
Ye must not slumber there,
Where stranger steps and tongues resound
Along the heedless air.

Great Battle of Shiloh.

Your own proud land's heroic soil
Shall be your fitter grave;
She claims from War his richest spoil—
The ashes of her brave.

Thus, 'neath their parent turf they rest,
Far from the gory field,
Borne to a Spartan mother's breast
On many a bloody shield;
The sunshine of their native sky
Smiles sadly on them here,
And kindred eyes and hearts watch by
The heroes' sepulcher.

Rest on, embalmed and sainted dead!
Dear as the blood ye gave;
No impious footstep here shall tread
The herbage of your grave;
Nor shall your glory be forgot
While Fame her record keeps,
Or Honor points the hallowed spot
Where Valor proudly sleeps.

Yon marble minstrel's voiceless stone
In deathless song shall tell,
When many a vanquished year hath flown,
The story how ye fell;
Nor wreck, nor change, nor winter's blight,
Nor Time's remorseless doom,
Can dim one ray of holy light
That gilds your glorious tomb.

THEODORE O'HARA.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE ROLL OF HONOR.

Just after the fearful Battle of Shiloh was all over and the enemy had finally disappeared forever from that field of blood, and the time had come for return to camp of the few survivors, Captain Rhodes, of Company H, 28th Illinois Infantry, directed the acting orderly of his company to call the roll to ascertain the names of those still remaining in line; and of all the noble boys of that company at the rising of Sunday's sun, the following comrades only responded to their names, that is to say:

Hinman Rhodes, captain.

John B. Carithers, acting orderly.

William H. Kinsey, sergeant.

George Whitfield Reese, private.

Simpson Sturgeon, private.

John A. Jacobs, private.

Total, six; each and all of whom, except the captain, entered the service from Ipava, Fulton County, Illinois.

“Of all the heroes gathered there,
In forest, hill, or dell,—
Of all who there beheld
The rising of Sunday's sun,—
Of all the hearts then beating there
With the pulse of anxious life,—
How few are beating now!”

Captain Rhodes (afterwards full colonel of the regiment) is now sleeping in beautiful Mountain View Cemetery in far-off California; John B. Carithers (afterwards second lieutenant)

ant) died during the war; William H. Kinsey and Simpson Sturgeon died many years ago; and George Whitfield Reese, the very last one of all these heroes, passed away in his own lovely home, just across the street from the Ross mansion, Lewistown, Illinois, on the last day of October, 1919.

George Whitfield Reese was always at Shiloh at our annual reunions, as long as he was able to attend; but his health failed about three years ago. After that, the author called on him at his home every April. He was to me more than a brother; and he is fittingly portrayed in the beautiful poem which follows:

“Commend me to the friend that comes
When I am sad and lone
And makes the anguish of my heart
The suffering of his own;
Who coldly shuns the glittering throng
At Pleasure’s gay levee,
And comes to gild a somber hour
And give his heart to me.

“He hears me count my sorrows o’er,
And when my task is done
He freely gives me all I ask—
A sigh for every one.
He can not wear a smiling face
When mine is touched with gloom,
But, like the violet, seeks to cheer
The midnight with perfume.

“Commend me to that generous heart
Which, like the pine on high,
Uplifts the same unvarying brow
In every change of sky;
Whose friendship does not fade away
When wintry tempests blow,
But, like the Winter’s icy crown,
Looks greener through the snow.

“He flies not with the flitting stork,
Which seeks a southern sky,
*But lingers where the wounded bird
Hath laid him down to die.*
Oh, such a friend! He is in truth,
Whate’er his lot may be,
A rainbow in the storm of life—
An anchor when at sea.”

—*Anonymous.*

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE HEROISM OF COLONEL AMORY K. JOHNSON.

“There was but one thought, and that was death.”

The very darkest hour of all at Shiloh was at 4 p. m. Sunday; for at that time the deepest gloom was seen on the features even of the bravest of the brave.

Just as gloom alone surrounds the new-made tomb of the loved and lost, so it now settled down upon the whole Union army. At this time, the victorious enemy held possession of every camp but one of the five divisions of the Union army, and was now reveling in the triumphant possession of all, with all which that implies. And the whole inferno scene was rendered more hideous still by the cries and screams for help of more than 20,000 men. This was the very time that, like the great Napoleon at Waterloo, all were praying that either Grouchy or night would come; that either Buell or night would come.

When it became necessary for the Fourth Division to retreat from the Bloody Pond, Colonel Johnson obtained permission from General Hurlbut to form the rear guard, the post of honor, with the 28th Illinois Infantry; and when Colonel Johnson came to the Siege-gun Battery with his regiment, the very last of all, he then and there halted his regiment, rode up and saluted General Hurlbut, and

Asked for orders before wheeling into line.

If you can, picture this Saturnalia in your minds, with all its impending horror, and thereupon you will surely wonder how any man in all this world of ours could have nerve enough to perform such a deed as this, at such a time as this, and

when more than 100 great guns and 70,000 muskets were belching forth their missiles of death, till the whole peninsula rocked to and fro beneath it all, and when nearly half of his entire division were stretched out upon that bloody field, either killed or mangled, and when more than 14,000 wounded men were crying for assistance, rendering the whole inferno scene far more hideous than ever painted by the great Dante.

Let the reader remember that this is no chimerical picture manufactured for the occasion, but is shown to be absolutely true by the official report of General Hurlbut in 10 Rebellion Records, page 206, approved by General Grant.

Since that scene of horror was thus enacted on that bloody field at Shiloh, more than three-quarters of a century has passed us by and now lies buried forevermore in the vast graveyard of all the past.

Years and years ago, Colonel Johnson crossed the Jordan and entered upon his career in the Great Beyond.

But allow me to assure all that, if one search the records of daring deeds through and through, ever since time began, nowhere will he find a more glorious deed of heroism since the morning stars first sang together.

And let me assure all that the good people of the county of Menard, which sent Colonel Johnson to the great war in 1861, can honor themselves and their posterity, for time to come, by erecting within the little city of Petersburg an enduring monument of marble to commemorate, for time to come, this heroic deed of Colonel Amory K. Johnson.

CHAPTER XL.

HOW THE 28TH ILLINOIS INFANTRY LOST ITS FLAG.

(From the *National Tribune*, 1914.)

Editor National Tribune:

But a short time since, I received a letter from my niece, Mrs. Luella Howard Voorhees, the sole daughter of my sole surviving brother, Isaac, residing at Smithfield, Fulton County, Illinois, wherein she says:

"I have just returned from Springfield, where I visited Memorial Hall, in the State-house, when and where I saw a tiny picture of you, fastened to one of the flags of the 28th Illinois Infantry, which now reposes in the great glass repository which contains many of the captured flags which belonged to Illinois regiments during the Great War, all of which are now sacredly cared for by the great State of Illinois."

And so my niece saw the flags which formerly were carried by our regiment, and which are now sacredly cared for in the capitol of your State at Springfield.

Let me hasten to assure you, my dear niece, thereon hangs a tale I never told you—a truthful tale, and far more wonderful than fiction—which should be handed down to the generations yet to come.

Suffice it to say that one of those two flags formed the original colors of our regiment at the time we left Camp Butler for the war in August, 1861; that this flag was successfully carried onward by our regiment at Belmont, General Grant's first battle of the war; at the capture of Forts Heiman, Henry, and Donelson; and at Shiloh, April 6-7, 1862, the deadliest great pitched battle of all time, where our division met with the greatest loss of any division; that we

successfully upheld this flag at "Hell on the Hatchie River," in the following October, where our regiment lost more than 17 per cent of all we had left in killed and wounded alone.

During this battle one of the enemy's shells exploded in this flag and tore it all to tatters, leaving it substantially in the same condition you saw it at Springfield.

At the time of the Battle on the Hatchie, the 28th Illinois belonged to General Lauman's Brigade of the Fourth Division, and the division was then commanded by Major General Stephen A. Hurlbut. All the forces engaged in this forlorn hope expedition had been encamped at Bolivar, about sixty miles nearly due east of Memphis, and thirty miles nearly due south from Jackson, Tennessee, where General Grant then had his headquarters.

On the evening of October 3rd General Hurlbut received orders from General Grant to march at once with his entire command and relieve Rosecrans at Corinth or perish. Hence, at 3 a. m. the next morning, the bugle called in our pickets and camp guard, and we partook of a hasty breakfast of hardtack, sow-belly, and coffee, and before the first peep of day, started on that forlorn hope expedition, each man carrying three days' rations, 100 rounds of ammunition, and his blanket, besides his gun and accouterments, in all weighing about 70 pounds.

Thus laden down, we marched forty miles on the 4th and halted on the Big Muddy, after having skirmished with the enemy for the last several miles. At daylight next morning, after first shelling the advance, we started on the double-quick for the bridge across the Hatchie River, driving the enemy precipitately before us.

Although this expedition consisted almost entirely of General Hurlbut's Fourth Division; and notwithstanding that, theretofore, he had won the Battle of Shiloh, as heretofore related; and even after General Hurlbut had been hotly engaged with the enemy for some time, up came General E. O.

C. Ord with orders from General Grant to take full charge of all the troops under General Hurlbut. Of course General Hurlbut obeyed the order from Grant and turned over the command to General Ord. Right then and there arose a perfect storm of indignation from the rank and file of Lauman's Brigade, joined in by most of the other troops. And it was this, nothing more or less, as will be shown later on, which induced General Ord to relieve General Lauman from command of the Fourth Division at Jackson, Mississippi, in 1863, and send him back to Vicksburg in deep disgrace.

But just after crossing the Hatchie River, under a veritable storm of shot, shell, and Minie balls, dealing death and destruction everywhere, and while we were cooped up in that terrible slaughter-pen through the senseless blunder of General Ord, a shell from the enemy exploded in the folds of our flag and tore it all to tatters.

But, just at this time, when everything looked as black as hades, General Ord received a scratch on the ankle from a Minie ball, causing him to return the command to General Hurlbut, and retired from the field.

Just as soon as this became known to General Lauman's Brigade, the boys raised a mighty cheer, which was joined in by the remainder of our forces, and in thirty minutes more swept the enemy from the field, capturing four bronze 12-pounders, 650 stands of arms, and 420 prisoners.

But, unfortunately, the dignity of General Ord was seriously offended by the cheers and groans of General Lauman's Brigade; and, as will be soon shown, he bided his time for a fearful revenge.

After burial of the dead of both forces, we carried this flag back to Bolivar, where, October 13th, we were reviewed by Jesse K. Dubois, then Auditor of your State, representing Governor Yates. During this review, Colonel Johnson, of the 28th, through General Hurlbut, presented the remnant of this flag to the State of Illinois, delivering it to the Auditor,

who returned with it to Springfield, where it has been sacredly cared for ever since by the State of Illinois.

Bear well in mind this is one of the two flags of our regiment which you saw in the State-house at Springfield. Let me now tell you the history of the other one.

Upon learning of the destruction of our flag at the Battle on the Hatchie, the ladies of Vermont, your county, long before your birth, went to work and with their own hands made the silk flag which you saw in the State-house, and presented the same to our regiment in the early part of May, 1863, just before we left for Vicksburg.

Thereafter we carried this silk flag through the entire siege and capture of Vicksburg, which was by far the greatest capture of all the war, and fell into our hands July 4, 1863; and on the same day we started for Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, which had been re-occupied by General Joseph E. Johnston, and strongly fortified while we were besieging Vicksburg.

It should be remembered that, throughout the entire siege and capture of Vicksburg, the Fourth Division, to which we then belonged, was commanded by Brigadier General Jacob G. Lauman, who commanded the First Brigade at the Battle on the Hatchie, and entered the service from Burlington, Iowa.

The Fourth Division left the trenches at Vicksburg for Jackson on the very day that the Gibraltar of the Mississippi surrendered, and was then attached to the Thirteenth Corps, then commanded by General Ord, the whole expedition being commanded by General W. T. Sherman, the greatest strategist of all the Great War, and the world-famed commander of the great campaign "From Atlanta to the Sea," which has been heralded in song the world around from then till now.

The division then consisted of three brigades, commanded, respectively, by Colonel Pugh, of the 41st Illinois, Colonel

Hall, of the 14th Illinois, and Colonel Bryant, of the 12th Wisconsin.

The division arrived in the immediate vicinity of Jackson July 10th. On the night of the 11th most of the division was located on the west side of the railroad running south from Jackson, about one mile distant from the earthworks of the enemy.

For some reason unknown to the writer, just after dark, on the night of the 11th, the 28th Illinois was detached from its brigade and sent to a position next to the glorious 3rd Iowa Infantry, taking the place of the 33rd Wisconsin; and while marching into this position one of the 3rd Iowa boys shouted: "Here comes the 28th Illinois; hell will be to pay to-morrow." And, as shown by the sequel, he declared much better than anyone knew.

At 1:30 p. m. on the 11th, General Ord promulgated the following order:

"GENERAL LAUMAN:

"As the enemy may have some force on the railroad (which is hardly probable), make a reconnaissance; and if it is necessary to form a line and attack to drive the forces in front, *do so*, so as to keep your connection with General Hovey."⁶⁴

In obedience to this order, and not otherwise, General Lauman ordered forward his old brigade, the same he commanded at the Battle on the Hatchie nine months before, consisting of the 28th, 41st, and 53rd Illinois and 3rd Iowa, to the east side of the railroad, where an infantry line of the enemy was posted, and which retreated into an angle of the main fortifications of the enemy before Lauman's advance, without making any resistance, where they were protected by the enfilading fire on both angles of the main fortifications.

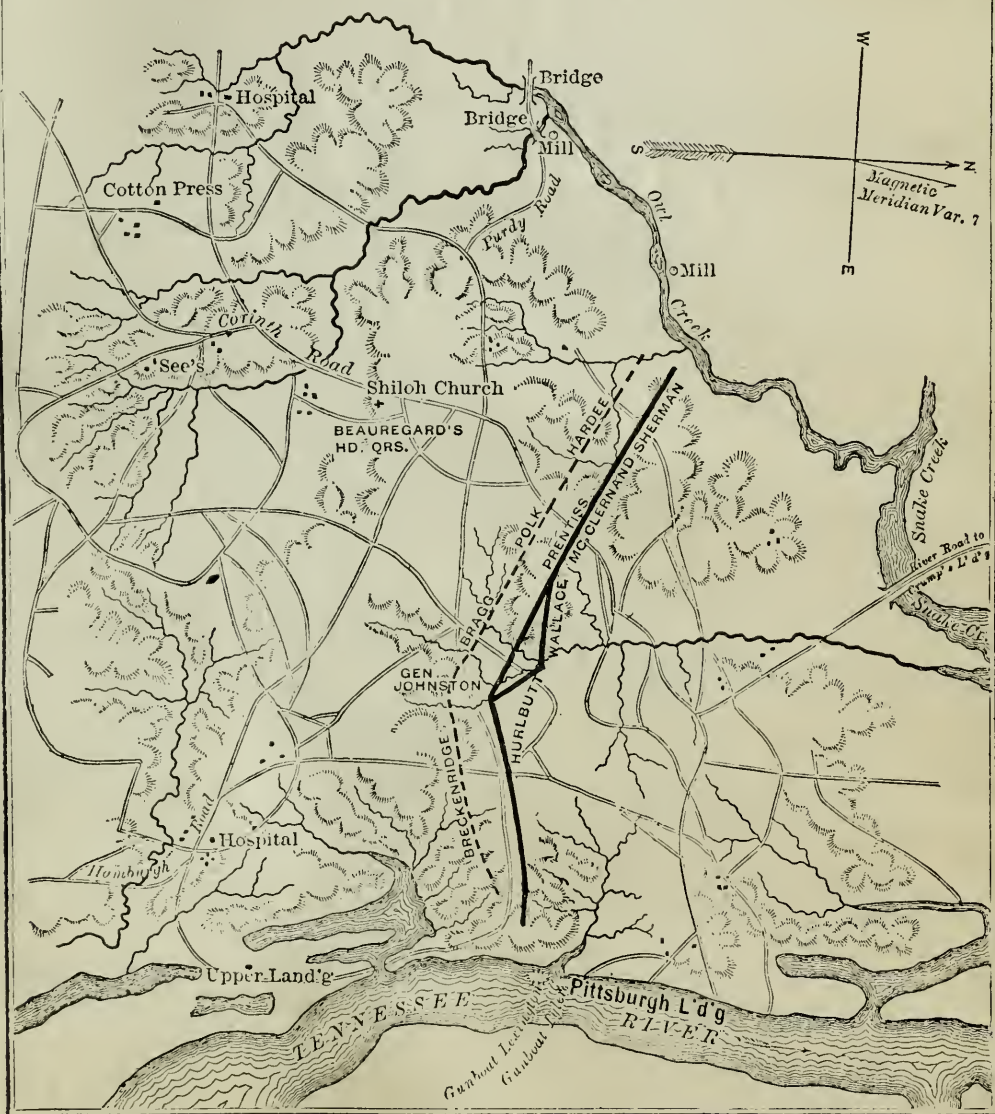
Our boys moved forward through dense underbrush till they crossed a creek, coming to a corn-field, where they halted and dressed up the line.

BATTLE OF
SHILOH
Part II.

2d. Position (Noon) 6th. April

Federal —————

Confederate - - - - -



BATTLEFIELD OF SHILOH.

Colonel Pugh, commanding our brigade, at this time saw the fearful situation and refused to go farther into this fearful angle without specific orders. Thereupon Lauman informed General Ord of the perilous situation and entered his protest against going further into this deadly angle. Replying thereto, Ord repeated the substance of his former order, adding thereto:

“You must obey my order, or I will assign some other officer to the command of your division.”

It was then, and not till then, that General Lauman ordered Colonel Pugh to fix bayonets and charge into this deadly angle of the main fortifications of the enemy, thus enfiladed by the infantry and artillery of the enemy on both flanks.

With a deep yell, learned at Shiloh, which still rings in the ears of all survivors, these four brave regiments charged onward at double-quick for the Rebel earthworks—for destruction and death.

The 28th Illinois then and there, and for the last time, followed this same silk flag which you saw in the State-house at Springfield, the brave boys falling like grass before the sickle. They had proceeded only a short distance when Sergeant Thomas J. Metzler, carrying the colors, was pierced through and through by Minie balls and fell to the earth beneath its folds.

Right then and there, Private John Hollingsworth, of Company H, grabbed this flag, hoisted it aloft, and shouted: “Come on, boys! I am with you now.” He plunged onward and carried this silk flag clear over the main earthwork of the enemy, where he was taken prisoner, still unharmed. Several of our boys followed this flag clear to the deep ditch, and then saved their lives by leaping into the trench.

And this is just the way our regiment lost this silk flag. Of course the main charge was repulsed, for nothing could

withstand this inferno of shot and shell. Words are worthless to describe it. Let it suffice to say that in less than twenty minutes these four brave regiments lost in killed and wounded more than 60 per centum of all engaged.

But a sorrowful scene remains to tell. When the survivors of these four glorious regiments finally assembled for roll-call, out of every ten men who entered the charge, only four of Company H were left to respond to their names. And right then and there brave men wept like infancy.

But the rainbow denotes the passing of the storm. Many years afterward, in loyal recognition of the deeds thus enacted, your own great State caused the names in full of each and every one of her sons who were thus engaged to be engraved in letters of bronze on solid plates within the interior of the great dome of the Illinois Soldiers' Monument at Vicksburg, to be seen and admired by endless generations of both men and women for time to come.

But, my dear niece, you may wish to know why it was that these four small regiments were thus selected and ordered forward to this fearful slaughter; and it is proper to inform you that, at that time, we then had present all of the Ninth, Thirteenth, and Fifteenth Corps, consisting of more than 50,000 soldiers, none of whom, except those already stated, took any part in this terrible charge. And why?

Many survivors have asked this question many times. But who can answer it? Can it be this terrible retribution was thus inflicted on this brigade because of its jeers at General Ord during the Battle on the Hatchie? Each survivor can answer this query for himself.

Soon after the conclusion of this fearful charge, General Ord relieved brave General Lauman from command of his division and sent him back to Vicksburg in deep disgrace, when and where, while tears rolled down his cheeks, General Lauman told us that, sometime, the world would know it was not his blunder. He tried and tried, but always in vain,

to obtain an official investigation; but this was always denied. Had it been granted, he would certainly have cleared himself from all blame in the premises. But that was just what a quartette of West Point officers did not want. Grant, Sherman, McPherson, and Ord were all West Point officers; and volunteer officers, regardless of merit, stood no show with them. While both Grant and Sherman undoubtedly knew General Lauman was blameless in the premises, they refused to give him any chance to vindicate himself, saying: "Ord has relieved General Lauman and sent him to Vicksburg. I approve, *because I want the corps commanders satisfied with their division commanders.*" What a shameful pretext!

But while General Lauman was thus officially disgraced, yet every comrade who served under him in the Fourth Division knows it to be a fiendish outrage, and will continue to protest against it as long as reason remains.

Failing to obtain an inquiry, General Lauman returned to his home at Burlington, Iowa, and soon thereafter died with a broken heart.

He has long been sleeping in the cemetery there, where, on every Decoration Day, the survivors of the Old Fourth Division and many other comrades lovingly decorate his silent mansion with choice flowers. And they will continue so to do as long as they live.

But neither Grant nor Sherman can prevent a proper inquiry when Gabriel blows his trumpet.

But let us return to this silk flag thus lost at Jackson. Long after the close of the Great War, as possibly you may remember, there finally came about an exchange of flags, when this same silk flag was returned to the capitol of your State, where it is sacredly cared for by the loyalty of Illinois, and this will be continued as long as silk can endure the wrath of time.

John Hollingsworth ("Long John") died in the Soldiers'

and Sailors' Home at Quincy many years ago, and is now sleeping near the Father of Rivers, which he assisted in opening clear through to the Gulf.

I now suppose (but know it not) there now remains in the little city of Vermont not a single one of the ladies who made and presented this silk flag to our regiment.

All of this, my darling niece, was brought back to memory by your letter telling about seeing these two flags in the State-house at Springfield. Should you ever return there again, you will then be able to tell all about their marvelous career.

SAMUEL MEEK HOWARD.

Gettysburg, South Dakota, October 24, 1914.

CHAPTER XLI.

SHILOH'S FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

On the very last day of March, 1862, armed with a letter of introduction from Judge Caton, of the Supreme Court of Illinois, to General Strong at St. Louis, the devoted wife of General William H. L. Wallace, then commanding the Second Division, Army of the Tennessee, left her beautiful home at The Oaks, Ottawa, Illinois, in the very midst of a fearful storm, determined to go to the assistance of her husband on the upper Tennessee River, notwithstanding the well-known fact that all civilians were then prohibited from entering the Union lines.

But it appears that this heroic wife had a premonition that some disaster was about to be encountered by her husband, notwithstanding the fact that he had theretofore come out unscathed at Buena Vista, in the war with Mexico, and also at Belmont, Forts Henry and Donelson, in the war of the Great Rebellion. And hence she believed it to be her duty to hasten to his assistance.

Reaching St. Louis in safety the next day, in spite of the fearful storm, she presented her letter of introduction at the headquarters of General Strong, who placed her in charge of a large steamboat bound for Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee River. Sailing the same night from St. Louis, she hastened down the Mississippi to Cairo, and then up the Ohio and Tennessee rivers, and reached General Grant's headquarters at Savannah at midnight of Saturday and Sunday, April 5-6, where she was informed by General Grant that her husband was then at Pittsburg Landing and commanding the Second Division, Army of the Tennessee. Hastening onward, she finally arrived at Pittsburg Landing at daylight, April 6th,

just as Colonel Moore, of the 21st Missouri, opened fire on the pickets of Hardee's Corps, and thereby inaugurated the deadliest great pitched battle of all time.

Remaining aboard the steamer during all that fearful Sunday, she was constantly engaged throughout the entire day in nursing and caring for, as best she could, the wounded soldiers which filled the entire cabin of the boat to overflow.

During the whole of that fearful Sunday night her steamer was running to and fro, back and forth, across the river, transporting Ammen's Brigade, Army of the Ohio, across the river, as fully related elsewhere. During all of which time this faithful wife knew not that her husband was then lying on the wet and cold field of battle, mortally wounded, with his life swiftly ebbing away; and this, too, with no shelter or assistance.

But finally, after the enemy had been repulsed and driven from this portion of the field, and search made for the surviving, her husband was found to be still breathing, and was removed to the cabin of her steamer, where he recognized his noble wife, but never spoke another word. But it was then everlastingly too late to save his life, and he died two days afterward in the Cherry mansion, where General C. F. Smith also passed away.

Noble woman! Glorious wife! Let the whole world profit by her example.

It is worthy of remark that this Cherry mansion, then the headquarters of General Grant, has stood there for one hundred and fifty years, and is annually visited by many survivors of the Battle of Shiloh; and it has always been owned and occupied by the Cherry family.

CHAPTER XLII.

SHILOH'S PYRAMIDS.

Unlike the Pyramids of Egypt, those at Shiloh were constructed principally of earth alone, but with a few rocks. Both the dirt and rocks were taken from great excavations close at hand, which can still be plainly seen after the lapse of untold thousands of years.

Through research therein made in recent years, many curios have been found, some of which are now on exhibition at the offices of the superintendents of the Park and Cemetery.

There are three of these great Pyramids, or Prehistoric Mounds, within the Battlefield of Shiloh; and it is now known they were constructed by a race of men which antedated the Indian tribes for many thousands of years—how many no one knows or will ever know, just as no one now knows for how many thousands of years the Indians had existed in America before the arrival of Columbus from Spain.

But it seems to be conclusively shown that, ever since the advent of man, there has existed a universal and longing desire among many to perpetuate themselves for all time to come. All civilized races do this at the present time by the erection of polished granite or marble stones at the head of their respective graves. But, instead thereof, the men of prehistoric times sought to accomplish the same purpose by the construction of great pyramids. This is conclusively proven by both the Bible and many histories of ancient times.

There are three great Pyramids, or Prehistoric Mounds, at Shiloh, located over on the commanding heights of Dill's Branch, a mile or more distant from the location of the camp of the 28th Illinois Infantry at the time of the battle.

Captain Hinman Rhodes, of Company H, 28th Illinois

(afterward full colonel thereof), had previously served in our war with Mexico, and knew that our soldier graves beyond the Rio Grande had been completely obliterated and lost. He also knew of the existence of these Pyramids, or Prehistoric Mounds. Hence, on the third day after the battle, when he had ascertained his regiment had at least forty men who had lost their lives in the Battle of Shiloh, who had to be buried somewhere, he desired that their place of burial should be preserved for time to come, and not obliterated and lost as in Mexico. And this is undoubtedly the reason that the forty dead of his regiment were originally buried on top of Shiloh's greatest Pyramid, or Prehistoric Mound.

While it is true that, years ago, the remains of these were taken up and re-interred in the National Cemetery, yet this grateful Government of ours has erected a solid and enduring marker beside the vacant trenches to point out the original burial-place of these heroes to all the world for time to come.

And these were the only ones of all Shiloh's sacred dead who were thus interred. And bear in mind that this is the reason that four-fifths of the graves in this National Cemetery have inscribed on their headstones the single word, "Unknown."

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE BASE INGRATITUDE OF WEST POINT COMMANDERS.

In obedience to the requirements of truth, it becomes a painful duty to recall several instances of base ingratitude by commanders of the Union armies in the field.

Major General John A. Logan.

Chief among these instances is the case of Major General John A. Logan, who perhaps did more than any other man to organize and build up the grand Army of the Tennessee, the only army, east or west, north or south, which was never defeated and never turned its back to the foe.

When Major General McPherson, while commanding the Army of the Tennessee, fell at Atlanta, July 24, 1864, Major General John A. Logan succeeded to the command thereof by reason of seniority.

But General Logan was a volunteer, and this did not suit the West Point officers. Hence General Grant (a graduate of West Point) relieved Logan from command of the Army of the Tennessee and assigned Major General Oliver O. Howard to command thereof.

General Howard had never served in the West. He knew nothing about the Army of the Tennessee. He had been removed from his previous command by reason of his incompetency at Fredericksburg. But he was a graduate of West Point and had to be taken care of by General Grant.

But notwithstanding this base ingratitude, President Lincoln finally assigned General Logan to the command of the Army of the Tennessee and he headed the same at the Grand Review in Washington. But there was then no more commanding to do, for the war was all over.

Major General Stephen A. Hurlbut.

Major General Hurlbut was another instance of base ingratitude. He commanded the Fourth Division, Army of the Tennessee, at Shiloh, till he was assigned by General Grant to the command of all our forces on the firing-line, where he both saved and won the great Battle of Shiloh, and thereby saved the neck of General Grant himself.

General Hurlbut also won the Battle of "Hell on the Hatchie," October 4-5, 1862, after General E. O. C. Ord, a West Point officer, had got us into a deplorable situation, having received a slight scratch on one ankle from a Minie ball, whereupon General Hurlbut won the battle.

After the battle and the burial of the dead, General Hurlbut marched us back to Bolivar again, where we were reviewed by Governor Yates. Thereupon Hurlbut was removed from command of the Fourth Division under the shallow pretext of promotion, and assigned to the command of the post of Memphis against his wishes; whereupon he issued and promulgated the following farewell to his Division:

"HEADQUARTERS FOURTH DIVISION,

"BOLIVAR, TENN., Oct. 8, 1862.

"Officers and Soldiers of the Fourth Division, Comrades in Battle, Partakers of the Weary Marches and Long Watches:

"By your discipline and courage the victories have been won, and the title of 'The Fighting Fourth Division,' earned at Shiloh, has been burnished with additional splendor on the Hatchie.

"We were ordered on a forlorn hope to the aid of our beleaguered brothers in arms at Corinth. The march was arduous, the undertaking desperate. *My orders were to relieve Rosecrans or perish.*

"By the blessing of the God of our fathers and our own country, the forces which assailed the indomitable garrison at the Hatchie River were scattered and broken by your invincible courage when our time came.

"But there was work for the old Fourth Division. The heavy mass of the enemy was retreating by the State Line road, where, after crossing the Muddy, we met them face to face. Each arm of this division—cavalry, infantry, and artillery—co-operated over

a rough and difficult country, over hills and through ravines, forests, and thickets. The dangerous enemy made no break in the serial advance of the command. Aided by our brave comrades of the 68th Ohio and 13th Michigan, from General Ross' command, field after field was swept, position after position was carried and occupied, until the crowning struggle of the day came for the occupation of the high ground east of the Hatchie.

"The bridge across that stream was carried by a charge; the work of the artillery was done, and that of the infantry commenced in dead earnest.

"Major General Ord—a stranger to you, but to whom the division by its well-known reputation was no stranger—was struck at the bridge and disabled, and the command then devolved on your old commander.

"By misapprehension of the nature of the ground beyond the Hatchie, a large portion of the division had been massed on impracticable ground on the right, and had been exposed to a terrific fire of grape and canister and musketry at short range. That you bore it without the possibility of active return speaks well for your discipline.

"Knowing the ground, I immediately determined to throw out the main force to the left, crown the hillside, and flank the enemy.

"It is the proudest moment of my life when I remember how promptly the several regiments disengaged themselves from their temporary confusion and extended to the left, and with what will they bent themselves to conquer the hill. In twenty minutes all was over.

"The broken fragments of the Confederate army recoiled before your steady advance. The main line of retreat was cut off and their troops forced over the broken ground east of the Hatchie, and our task was accomplished.

"Our wounded, the bloody witnesses of the desperation of the fight, were then cared for as best we could.

"Already the victorious columns of Rosecrans were thundering on their rear. And it was my duty to bring in the force that remained with me.

"You have returned to camp with no colors lost, with not a man or gun missing.

"It was a glorious triumph, and I, for you, have a right to be proud.

"And now the necessities of the service [?] remove me from

the immediate command of the Fourth Division. A promotion [?], due to your discipline and courage, removes me to a higher command.

"I wish you to understand by this, my parting order, that I know full well no regiment in this division desired to be under my command when we met at Donelson. The reason why I know full well, but care not now to tell.

"Your respect I conquered at Shiloh. Your regard I hope to have acquired since.

"Give to the officer who shall succeed me the same prompt obedience, the same steady devotion to duty as in the past, and you will make me proud, wherever I am, of the high reputation of the Fourth Division.

"Let every officer and man remember that I here again acknowledge that whatever I may have of military reputation has been won by you, and that I wear it only as coming from you; and that any misconduct or want of discipline on your part in the future will grieve your old commander. Remember, I place my honor, as well as your own, in your hands; and that, if in the future I find a difficult position which must be held, I shall call for the Fourth Division and have no fears how you will answer.

"The glorious joy of victory was and is dimmed only by the memory of your glorious dead. But they died, even as they would wish, in defense of the Union and her laws; died bravely on the red field of battle, with their unconquered banners over them; and their comrades will surely avenge them.

"And when, at last, our victorious flag shall float over the whole National domain, reconquered, and the weary soldier shall forget his toil in the endearments of home, around his fireside, and among your children and neighbors, you shall recite as a part of your glorious record how you swept the Rebel hosts from every position across the Hatchie and crowned the opposite hill with a wall of fire and steel, which repelled the chosen troops of Price and Van Dorn.

"Infantry, Artillery, and Cavalry of the Fourth Division, and your well-deserving comrades of the 68th Ohio and 12th Michigan:

"You have done your duty, each in its place, and each at the right time, You have satisfied your general, and in due time the country at large shall know what is your due.

"For a while, I bid you farewell.

S. A. HURLBUT."

Yes, forever. He never came back to the Fourth Division. West Point banished him forever. What a shame!

Brigadier General Jacob G. Lauman.

But the most damnable instance of all within the knowledge of the author was the case of General Jacob G. Lauman, who succeeded to the command of the Fourth Division following the retirement of General Hurlbut.

General Lauman entered the service in 1861 as colonel of the famous 7th Iowa Infantry and commanded that regiment at the Battle of Belmont, the only battle in all the war in which General Grant was defeated. He also served at Forts Henry and Donelson, and commanded a brigade at Shiloh and the Fourth Division during the siege and capture of Vicksburg and during his disastrous charge on Jackson, Mississippi, July 12, 1863. The following are the regiments which participated in this charge, to-wit:

3rd Iowa,
28th Illinois,
41st Illinois, and
53rd Illinois.

This deadliest charge of all the war was the sequence of an instance which occurred during the Battle on the Hatchie.

Although the Battle on the Hatchie was waged by the Fourth Division, then commanded by General Hurlbut (as related elsewhere), assisted only by two other regiments, General Hurlbut being superseded by General E. O. C. Ord for a short time, it becomes necessary to record an incident which then and there occurred at the time he took command and relieved Hurlbut.

Just as soon as General Lauman's Brigade saw that Hurlbut had been superseded by Ord, it joined in a howl of disapproval, in which the other regiments also joined. General Ord was very much offended at this manifestation of disapproval, and then and there determined to seek revenge on Lauman. But the time for this never came till Lauman's charge at Jackson.

Ord had been placed in command of the corps in which Lauman was then serving, and reported to General Sherman that Lauman had made this disastrous charge without orders. But, fortunately for Lauman, the official records contain the following order by General Ord, to-wit:

“HEADQUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS,
JACKSON, MISS., July 11, 1863, 11:30 p. m.

“*General Lauman, Commanding Division:*

“As the enemy may have some force on the railroad (which is hardly probable), make a reconnaissance; and if it is necessary to form a line and attack to drive the force in front, *do so*, so as to keep your connection with the main corps.

“Yours respectfully, E. O. C. ORD.”

When Colonel Pugh, commanding the charging brigade, had reached the corn-field, just beyond a little creek and within the apex of the angle of the earthworks of the enemy, he saw the desperation of proceeding further and reported accordingly to his division commander, General Lauman. In consequence thereof, Lauman entered his protest to Ord against proceeding farther. To which protest Ord then and there replied: “If you do not wish to make that charge, I will assign some other officer to make it.”

And so it was that Lauman was compelled to make the charge or be relieved from his command.

In his “Vicksburg and Jackson,” Colonel E. L. Hobart, now of Denver, says:

“I have a letter from a comrade who was wounded in the charge, stating that, while lying in the hospital, General Lauman came in, protesting his innocence of ‘any blunder.’ The letter states that he was crying and nearly heartbroken, and that he was justified in making the charge *just as he led it, and at the time he led it.*

“General Lauman lies buried in the cemetery at Burlington, Iowa, and I assisted in decorating his grave for the fourteen years of my residence there after the war.

“At the encampment in Burlington in 1889, I had the honor to start a movement looking to the care of General Lauman’s grave. I felt then, as I have always felt, that General Lauman was the

scapegoat of some higher in authority at Jackson, and General Lauman was relieved of his command, and was never thereafter heard of officially. It is my belief that he simply carried out his orders, verbal and otherwise, as he understood them. In the report of General Sherman to General Grant, it is hardly necessary to read between the lines to discover there was something being covered up. The report follows:

“HEADQUARTERS FIFTEENTH ARMY CORPS,

“CAMP BEFORE JACKSON, July 12.

“In taking position, General Lauman to-day got his lines uncovered by skirmish lines, and suffered considerably. Loss not yet ascertained. The ground to the right is so wooded that General Ord has been unable to ascertain General Lauman's loss.

“W. T. SHERMAN,

“Major General, Commanding.”

The following is Ord's official order to General Lauman:

“NEAR JACKSON, MISS., July 12, 1863.

“Brigadier General J. G. Lauman is hereby relieved from command of the Fourth Division. He will turn over his command to Brigadier General A. P. Hovey. Brigadier General Lauman, on being relieved of his command, will proceed to Vicksburg, or to General Grant's headquarters, and report.

“By command of Major General E. O. C. ORD.”

Let it suffice to add that the four regiments which entered this deadly charge lost over 60 per cent of all who entered therein in less than thirty minutes, this being the greatest percentage of loss in killed and wounded ever sustained by any four regiments in all the war in any one charge.

General Lauman thereupon returned to Vicksburg, made his report, and demanded an investigation of his conduct time and again, but never could obtain it; and soon afterward he returned to his home in Burlington, Iowa, and soon died with a broken heart.

What a striking instance of ingratitude!

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY CEMETERY.

By Act of Congress, approved March 3, 1873, provision was made for a National Military Cemetery at Shiloh, in which all soldiers of the Civil War and the War with Mexico may be buried.

In pursuance thereof, Captain George P. Dean was duly appointed, confirmed, and installed as superintendent of the Cemetery, and he is still serving as such, having outlived all the original appointees of the Shiloh National Military Park, all of whom were appointed many years after him.

There are now buried in this Cemetery 5,196 of Shiloh's sacred Union dead, beside those taken home for burial; the graves of all of which are marked with headstones of marble, three-fourths of which bear this inscription, "Unknown."

The Cemetery is situated at the top of the bluff of the Tennessee River, on the west bank thereof, overlooking the same, and contains a steel flagstaff 100 feet high, from the top of which floats Old Glory from the rising to the setting of every sun, which can be seen for many miles both up and down the river.

The Confederate dead, amounting to some 7,000, remain where originally buried in several trenches in different parts of the Park. But after the establishment of the National Cemetery, the Union dead were all taken up and re-interred in this Cemetery.

The National Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors congregates in this Cemetery on each and every anniversary of the battle and pays dutiful homage to Shiloh's sainted dead.

CHAPTER XLV.

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK.

Shiloh National Military Park was established by Act of Congress, approved December 27, 1894, and embraces nearly 4,000 acres, covering substantially the whole territory over which the great Battle of Shiloh was waged. It is situated in Hardin County, Tennessee, on the west bank of the Tennessee River.

In pursuance of this Act, a Commission of three members was appointed by the Secretary of War, which consisted of the following named members: Cornelius Caddle, chairman, of Cincinnati, Ohio, for the Army of the Tennessee; General Don Carlos Buell, of Paradise, Tennessee, for the Army of the Ohio; Colonel Robert T. Looney, of Memphis, Tennessee, for the Confederate Army of the Mississippi, associate members; and Major D. W. Reed, of Chicago, secretary and historian.

Captain James M. Irwin, of Savannah, Tennessee, was appointed agent for the purchase of the land.

The Commission met and organized, April 2, 1895, at Pittsburg Landing, and at once entered upon its duties.

Mr. James M. Reedle was appointed clerk of the Commission.

Mr. Atwell Thompson, civil engineer, of Chattanooga, Tennessee, was employed to take charge of the work; and under his direction surveys were made and parallel lines run around the battlefield from north to south every 200 feet, on which stakes were stuck 200 feet apart.

From this survey, levels were taken and a contour map made of all the land within the limits of the Park.

Mr. Thompson resigned October 1, 1905, and Major D.

W. Reed, secretary, removed his family to the Park and took charge of the work.

General Don Carlos Buell died November 19, 1898, and Major J. H. Ashcraft, late of the 26th Kentucky, of Paducah, Kentucky, was appointed in his place, January 16, 1899.

Colonel Robert J. Looney died November 19, 1899, and Colonel Josiah Parson, late of the 1st Alabama Cavalry, was appointed in his place, about January 1, 1900. He died at Memphis, Tennessee, about January 1, 1900, and General Basil Duke, of Morgan's Cavalry, Louisville, Kentucky, was appointed in his place, February 20, 1904.

Major Reed and Major Ashcraft died subsequently, and Major De Long Rice was appointed in Major Reed's place, and now has charge of the work of improving the Park.

This Park now contains nearly thirty miles of graveled roads, running in exactly the same places as the roads at the time of the battle. There are nearly 700 tablets and markers placed by the Government at various places through the Park, and by the States which had troops in the battle. All the Union soldiers killed in the battle were taken up and re-interred in the Cemetery. The Confederate dead remain where originally buried in various trenches throughout the Park. All States which had troops in the battle have erected State Monuments to the memory thereof, except Kentucky, Missouri, and Nebraska. Why not these? The ladies of the U. D. U. have erected a fine monument of marble and bronze at a cost of \$65,000, which is a work of fine art, and the handsomest one in the Park.

Probably the places of most interest consist of the Peach Orchard, where General Albert Sidney Johnston, the Confederate Commander-in-chief, was mortally wounded; the Bloody Pond, the Sunken Road, the Hornets' Nest, Rhea and Shiloh Springs; the Pyramids, or Prehistoric Mounds, where the 40 dead of the 28th Illinois Infantry were originally buried; the Confederate trench graves; the famous

Siege-gun Battery line, where General Grant turned over the command of all to General Hurlbut, who thereupon saved the day and virtually won the battle; Dill's Branch, through which General Bragg made four successive charges on the Siege-gun Battery line; and the various State and Regimental Monuments, inclusive of those erected in the Jones field, where the Fourth Division made a bloody charge on Monday. Of course, the Artillery and Cavalry will be most interested in their monuments. Guns now stand at all the principal places occupied by cannon during the battle, both Union and Confederate.

The Headquarters Monuments of all the division and brigade commands and the Regimental Monuments of all the regiments are also much sought for.

The famous Cherry mansion, located at Savannah, eight miles below, is also of much interest; for this was General Grant's headquarters at the time of the Battle of Shiloh, and has withstood the wrath of Time for 150 successive years, and has always belonged to the Cherry family. Generals C. F. Smith and W. H. L. Wallace died in the Cherry mansion.

The Shiloh National Military Park and Cemetery are visited by untold thousands of people each and every year, and probably by many more than any other National Park or Cemetery in America. The National Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors (incorporated) holds reunions here each and every year; and this will be kept up as long as the Tennessee River shall bathe Shiloh's base and hurry onward to the sea.

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Preston Johnston's description of the battle—Continued:

Johnston rides slowly along the line; his hat is off, his presence inspiring; on reaching the center of the line, he said, "I will lead you," 83.

He rides into the Peach Orchard by the 28th Illinois Monument; he halts his horse, raises his field-glass, and reconnoiters the line, within 50 yards of the present location of the 28th Illinois Monument; no firing now going on, but some 28th and 41st boys can not stand the challenge, and thereupon, violating orders, fire some dozen shots, one of which inflicts a mortal wound, 84.

Whereupon Johnston wheels his horse and hurries back to an oak tree; he meets Governor Harris and dies in twenty minutes, 85.

A pall of gloom; "Oh that night or Buell would come!" 87.

The enemy surrounds the Hornets' Nest:

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Whereupon Hurlbut arranges the whole Siege-gun Battery line, 92.

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Having fully prepared for the charge, Bragg orders his artillery to the top of the crest, and, with all the energy at his command, shouts forth the order: "Forward! Let every move be forward!" and while trumpets sounded charge, the gates of Troy swung open, 93.

Thereupon, the Siege-gun Battery and field artillery, aided by the cross-fire of the powerful battery of the *Tyler*, opened on Bragg's artillery, sweeping it away like grass before a raging prairie fire; and as soon as the enemy's charging columns came within easy rifle-range, Hurlbut opened thereon with all his infantry and artillery, carpeting the front with the slain, 94.

Charge is repulsed and followed by a counter-charge:

Bragg renews the charge with fearful loss three times, always with like results; but is halted and ordered to withdraw out of rifle-range by Beauregard, whereupon Bragg declares the battle lost, 94.

Soon thereafter a well-mounted Union officer, with locks of hair white as the snow of polar seas, gallops up and down the Union line, shouting at every stride: "Buell's Army has come! Buell's Army has come!" and, surely enough, just on the other side of the river, Ammen's Brigade, of Nelson's Division, Army of the Ohio, were then stacking arms, 95.

That fearful Sunday night:

The surviving heroes of the Army of the Tennessee stood on their arms all that fearful Sunday night, in a cold and driving rain, and without food, shelter or protection, 96.

When Ammen's Brigade had partaken of a hasty supper and had cut an opening through the brush down to the river, the 36th Indiana commenced crossing; but the cabin of the boat taking it over was filled with wounded soldiers, and hence three trips were made to get the regiment across, 96.

Shiloh, Battle of—Continued:

That fearful Sunday night—Continued:

Crittenden's Division, Army of the Ohio, was brought up from Savannah that night; and the advance of McCook's Division, Army of the Ohio, came on boats from Savannah at 5 a. m., the next morning; and Wood's Division, Buell's Army, arrived too late to get engaged; and Lew Wallace's Division, Army of the Tennessee, took position on the right of Sherman at 1 a. m., Monday morning, 97.

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"They are off," leaving behind untold thousands of vacant chairs, 128.

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(For Organization of National Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors, reunions thereof, etc., see Part II.)

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BATTLE OF SHILOH SURVIVORS.

DENVER, COLORADO, September 5, 1905.

In pursuance of the call published in the Denver papers, many Survivors of the Battle of Shiloh assembled in the Congregational Church of this city, and were duly called to order by Major S. K. Hooper, the President of the Colorado Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors. The meeting was opened by the singing of "America" by the assemblage and prayer by the pastor of the First Congregational Church, the Reverend J. M. Markley.

In opening the meeting, Major HOOPER said:

'As President of the local Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors, whose membership is in Denver and Colorado, it becomes my duty to explain the object of this meeting.

"When the fortieth anniversary of the Battle of Shiloh came around in 1902, Comrade Selden M. French conceived the idea of getting the boys living in Denver together on the 6th of April. A meeting was accordingly called of the Survivors of the Battle of Shiloh, and it was held in the State-house. About 15 Survivors were present, and a good time was had, lasting some three hours, in giving reminiscences of the Battle of Shiloh.

"It was then decided to form a local Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors, which was done. There were 34 Survivors present at the anniversary meeting, April 6, 1904.

"When it was decided that the thirty-ninth National

Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic would be held in Denver this year, we conceived the idea of organizing a National Association of Survivors of the Battle of Shiloh. Circulars were mailed to Survivors throughout the country, and hundreds of replies were received, expressing a desire for such an association. Committees were appointed and arrangements made for the reunion of the Survivors of the Battle of Shiloh. Our efforts have been rewarded by the large number of 304, who marched in the parade this morning.

"We Comrades in Denver do not expect to take charge of this meeting; but somebody had to take hold in the preparation for this meeting. And, in order to facilitate matters, we had a committee outline a plan of the National Organization for your action and approval, which will be submitted to you to-day; and I think it might be well to have it read before going into permanent organization. It is not intended that this should be adopted, but it is submitted as a plan for this meeting to work on."

The plan for organization was then read to the meeting; also a draft of proposed articles of membership.

S. K. HOOPER: Now, Comrades, I have stated to you the object of this reunion. The local Association has performed the duties to the present time, and we now turn the matter over to you for further action. This is a mass-meeting, and my judgment is that every Survivor of the Battle of Shiloh present is interested and has a voice in our proceedings.

On motion, the meeting formed a temporary organization by electing officers as follows:

E. L. Hobart, Chairman;

W. A. Hooper, Secretary;

Dan W. Brown, Assistant Secretary.

Moved by Comrade HOOPER, that it is the sense of this meeting that we proceed to organize a National Organization

of the Survivors of the Battle of Shiloh by the adoption of a Constitution and the election of officers.

Motion seconded and carried.

The following was adopted:

CONSTITUTION.

Name.

ARTICLE 1.—The name of this Organization shall be
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BATTLE OF SHILOH SURVIVORS.

Object.

ARTICLE 2.—The object of this Association is to perpetuate memories, collect data of that historic engagement, and to nurture fraternal feelings among those who participated, through meetings, discussions relating to personal incidents, and personal functions.

Membership.

ARTICLE 3.—All Union soldiers, marines, and sailors who participated in the Battle of Shiloh on the 6th and 7th days of April, 1862, may become members, and those of their immediate families honorary members.

Officers.

ARTICLE 4.—The officers of this Association shall be: one National Commander, one Senior Vice-Commander, one Junior Vice-Commander, one Adjutant and *ex-officio* Quartermaster, and one Chaplain. All to be elected and installed at each regular annual meeting.

Meetings.

ARTICLE 5.—The regular annual meetings of this Association shall be held at same time and place as the meetings of the National Encampment, G. A. R.

In each Department of the G. A. R., Associations may be formed and meetings held at the times and places of Department Encampments, Grand Army of the Republic.

It is suggested that local Associations be formed and hold annual meetings on the date of the Battle and forward to the National Adjutant, immediately thereafter, copies of the programme and data of such meeting.

Special meetings, National or Department, may be held at any time on call of the Commander.

Executive Committee.

ARTICLE 6.—The Executive Committee shall be composed of the officers of the Association, and one member from each organized Department Association, to be elected at the annual meetings. They shall transact all business pertaining to the welfare of the Association and report to the annual meeting.

Expenses.

ARTICLE 7.—A nominal admission fee of fifty cents shall be paid by each member on entering the Association, and a certificate of membership shall be issued, and no other fee or dues shall be required.

The Association then proceeded with the election of officers for the following year, as follows:

National Commander, S. K. Hooper, Denver, Colo.;
Senior Vice-Commander, B. H. Cooper, Chicago, Ill.;
Junior Vice-Commander, Wm. P. Davis, Washington,
D. C.;

Adjutant and Quartermaster, S. M. French, Denver,
Colo.;

Chaplain, Rev. R. M. Barnes, Denver, Colo.

On motion, the following certificate of membership was adopted:

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BATTLE OF SHILOH
SURVIVORS.

To All to Whom these Presents shall come, Greeting:

This is to Certify, That the "War of Rebellion Records," officially compiled, of the Union and Confederate Armies, Vol. X., Part I.; and also "The Battle of Shiloh, and the Organizations Engaged," compiled by the National Military Park Association, 1902, sets forth his Company and Regiment (or Battery, as the case may be), as participating in the great Battle of Shiloh, either part of one or both days, viz., April 6 and 7, 1862.

That said _____, having signified his desire to become a life member, is by these presents fully admitted; and in consideration of the fee of _____, paid to the Treasurer, is hereby entered on the rolls of the National Association of Battle of

Shiloh Survivors; and may God keep him true in fraternity, charity, and loyalty.

Given under my hand at _____, this _____ day of _____, 19—.

National Commander.

By the Adjutant, _____.

Remarks were made by the Commander, Comrade Hooper, and Samuel M. Howard, of Gettysburg, South Dakota; the last being in response to the toast, "All about Jackson, July 12, 1863."

A number of Comrades gave their names to the Adjutant, and were registered as members on payment of membership fee.

On motion, the Association adjourned, to meet again at the time and place of the next G. A. R. Encampment.

S. K. HOOPER, *Commander.*

S. M. FRENCH, *Adjutant.*

CHAPTER II.

RESPONSE TO A TOAST BY SAMUEL M. HOWARD, 28TH ILLINOIS INFANTRY, GETTYSBURG, SOUTH DAKOTA.

At the first campfire of the National Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors, held in the Baptist Church of Denver, on the evening of September 7, 1905, at which E. L. Hobart, 28th Illinois Infantry, 3223 Roxburg Court, proposed the following toast, and called on Judge Samuel M. Howard, 28th Illinois Infantry, to respond thereto, to-wit: "*All about Jackson, July 12, 1863.*" And the Judge spoke as follows:

"Mr. Toastmaster and Comrades;

"While I would much prefer to have this response made by some survivor of that deadliest charge of all the Great War, yet, inasmuch as you have called for a response by me, it becomes my duty to relate the facts as briefly as may be. And at the outset, lest it be forgot, the special object of this toast is understood to be to do full justice to the brave and lamented General Jacob G. Lauman and all our fallen heroes.

"But, in order to make this deadly charge perfectly clear to this audience, it is necessary to relate the principal facts leading up to it.

"General Lauman commanded the First Brigade of General Hurlbut's 'Fighting Fourth Division' throughout the Battle of Shiloh, and he also commanded a brigade thereof in the battle generally known as 'Hell on the Hatchie,' October 5, 1862.

"This battle at Daviss' Crossing, Hatchie River, was the result of a 'forlorn hope' expedition, sent to 'relieve Rosecrans or perish,' by General Grant to General Hurlbut, and consisted of Hurlbut's Fighting Fourth Division and two regiments borrowed by Hurlbut from Ross' Division, and was

commanded in person by General Hurlbut, except for a few minutes.

“Although this expedition was composed almost entirely of Hurlbut’s Division, which skirmished constantly with the enemy for many miles the day before, and had driven the Confederates across the bridge at Daviss’ Crossing, when along came General E. O. C. Ord, with orders from General Grant (then at Jackson, Tennessee) to assume the command of the expedition.

“Probably General Ord was then intoxicated, for upon arrival he strutted around and rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the soldiers, one of whom he even cursed. Ord immediately assumed command and soon got all our boys in a bad box. But, fortunately, in a very few minutes, he received a scratch on the ankle (probably fired by the soldier he had thus cursed), and he thereupon restored General Hurlbut to command again, and retired from the conflict.

“Just as soon as it became known that Ord had superseded Hurlbut, the soldiers of Lauman’s Brigade raised a tremendous howl of disapproval; and just as soon as he was superseded by Hurlbut, Lauman’s whole brigade yelled with delight.

“All this seriously offended the dignity of the drunken Ord, who was just as proud of his rank as a peacock of his plumage; and Ord right then and there decided he would get even with Lauman and his men later on; but, as we shall soon see, his opportunity for revenge never came till July 12th of the next year.

“In the campaign against Jackson, Mississippi, which began the next day after the capture of Vicksburg, the Fourth Division was commanded by General Lauman, whose headquarters during the siege had been near the Hall Ferry road, and he had shown great ability throughout all the siege in the management of his division.

“In the campaign against Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, which began the very next day after the surrender

of Vicksburg, the Fourth Division was still commanded by General Lauman. Properly it then belonged to the Sixteenth Corps, but was unfortunately attached to the Thirteenth, then commanded by this same General Ord, a regular Army officer.

"In that campaign the Thirteenth Corps consisted of 14,000 infantry, 440 cavalry, and 62 pieces of artillery.

"The Ninth and Fifteenth Corps and one division of the Sixteenth Corps also took part in that campaign. But, as I am dealing with the Fourth Division only, it is unnecessary to say much about the others.

"It is also explanatory to state that General Hurlbut was the first commander of the Fourth Division, and that it was he who led us on and on at Shiloh, when and where General Lauman commanded the First Brigade; and that it was General Hurlbut who led us out of the chaos at the Battle on the Hatchie, brought on by the incompetency of Ord, and then and there turned the tumult of defeat into glorious victory.

"The Fourth Division, under command of General Lauman, left the trenches at Vicksburg on July 5th, the very next day after the surrender thereof, and arrived in the vicinity of Jackson on the 10th. The division then consisted of three brigades, commanded respectively by Colonels Pugh, Hall, and Bryant. The Second Brigade was not engaged in the charge and may be omitted from further mention. One company of the 28th Illinois Infantry was then guarding the trains and hence was not engaged.

"The First Brigade of Lauman's Division consisted of the 28th, 41st, and 53rd Illinois and the 33rd Wisconsin.

"On the night of the 11th most of the division was camped on the west side of the railroad running south of Jackson, and was then distant from the enemy's trenches about one mile.

About 9 o'clock on the morning of the 12th, the First

Brigade (except the 33rd Wisconsin, but including the 28th Illinois) was ordered over to the east side of the railroad, with our left connecting with Hovey's Division.

"Early on the morning of the charge General Lauman received from Ord the following order, to-wit:

"GENERAL LAUMAN:

"As the enemy may have some force on the railroad, should they show an infantry line in force (which is hardly probable) make a reconnaissance, and, if necessary to form a line and attack to drive the force in, *do so*, so as to keep your connection with General Hovey, who is the connection with the main Corps."¹

"In consequence of this order, Colonel Pugh advanced his skirmish line and soon engaged the enemy. The 28th, 41st, and 53rd Illinois and the glorious 3rd Iowa moved through dense underbrush, across a small creek, and thence still onward till we came to a cornfield. Here Colonel Pugh halted his brigade and dressed up the line under a sharp fire. He did not like the look of the situation, and sent for General Lauman, who came up and ordered Colonel Pugh to charge on the main breastworks of the enemy.

"Thereupon, with a deep yell learned at Shiloh (still ringing in my ears), these four veteran regiments charged at double-quick for the main earthworks of the enemy—for destruction and death, for they were charging right into an angle of the main fortification, completely enfiladed on both flanks. On and on the boys went with bayonets fixed, while the Rebel cannon and rifles belched forth shell, grape, canister, and Minie balls by the million till the advance reached the breastworks, some even leaping into the ditch. But it was impossible to go further, and those who still survived withdrew from the field as best they could, leaving behind more than sixty per cent of their comrades in killed and wounded.

"Search well the annals of war of all time, and no equal of this horror can be found in the percentage of loss of any

¹24 Rebellion Records, p. 502.

four regiments in any one charge. Compared with this, Pickett's mighty charge at Gettysburg was merely a dress parade.

"In as brief a way as possible, let me now tell you the motive which brought this all about.

"Why was General Lauman unsupported? Why did he make this fearful charge with this small brigade alone? At the very time it was thus made, the 13th, 15th, 16th, and 19th Corps were practically all present, and could have carried Jackson easily by a combined charge, and with comparatively small loss, if General Sherman had so ordered. But, instead of that, these four small regiments were sent forth to destruction, while 50,000 soldiers were present and idle.

"Soon after this bloody repulse, the few survivors fell back and re-formed in perfect order; whereupon General Ord relieved General Lauman from his command and sent him back to Vicksburg in deep disgrace.

"In his pamphlet entitled 'Vicksburg and Jackson,' Ed. L. Hobart, 3223 Roxburg Court, Denver, says:

"Comrade S. D. Thompson, in his 'Recollections with the 3rd Iowa,' says: 'Thus it seems that Fate had decreed that this gallant regiment [28th Illinois], which suffered side by side with us in the disastrous bend of the Hatchie River, should, under the same commander, suffer such butchery now.'"

"Nor is this all. There are several soldiers still living who were present with General Lauman, who are willing to testify that when that order was first given General Lauman, the latter refused to make the charge; whereupon Ord retorted, 'If you will not make the charge, I will get some one else to make it'; and that it was after this severe altercation that Lauman finally ordered the charge.

"But the real motive which controlled Ord has already been indicated. Let me recall it. Bear in mind how Ord had superseded the commander of the 'forlorn hope' expedition to 'relieve Rosecrans or perish'; how Lauman's Brigade had howled at Ord on his taking command at the Battle on

the Hatchie; how Lauman's Brigade had cheered when General Hurlbut was restored to command; and how the drunken Ord became offended at such action and vowed revenge—and you can at once see the cause of this highly criminal massacre in cold blood.

“General Lauman immediately demanded an investigation of his conduct in making this deadly charge at Jackson, and kept on demanding it as long as he lived; but, sadly enough, it was all of no avail. General Hurlbut would have gladly given assistance to the brave Lauman; but, unfortunately, Hurlbut had already been shelved. And, to cap the climax, General Sherman added his stab, as follows:

“‘Ord has relieved Lauman and sent him to Vicksburg. I approve, because I want the corps commanders satisfied with their division commanders.’

“What a disgraceful pretext!

“Finally, being unable to obtain an investigation, the brave Lauman returned to his home at Burlington, Iowa, and died soon afterward with a broken heart.

“But on every Decoration Day that rolls around many of the Survivors of the Fourth Division, Army of the Tennessee, profusely decorate his silent mansion, assisted by countless hundreds of other Comrades, and will continue so to do as long as they live.

“I am informed that two sons of General Lauman are still practicing law in the city of Chicago.”

A number of Survivors gave their names to the Adjutant and were registered as members on payment of membership fee.

There were more than 30 Survivors present at the meeting.

S. K. HOOPER, *Commander.*

S. M. FRENCH, *Adjutant.*

Campfire thereupon adjourned.

CHAPTER III.

SUBSEQUENT REUNIONS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BATTLE OF SHILOH SURVIVORS.

In pursuance of the original Constitution, the first annual Reunion of the National Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors was held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, at the same time as the National G. A. R. Encampment, with B. H. Cooper in the chair.

This Reunion was an exceedingly stormy and disgraceful affair, and entirely unworthy and out of place for a reunion of Comrades. And this was largely because of the senseless position taken by one or two noisy Comrades of the Army of the Ohio, claiming that the Army of the Tennessee was totally defeated on Sunday and was cowering down under the bluff of the Tennessee River and was saved from capture only by the arrival of the Army of the Ohio.

In consequence of this tumult, the Association then and there amended the Constitution by providing that, thereafter, the regular annual and business Reunions should be held on the Battlefield of Shiloh at Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee.

Comrade T. W. Holman, 21st Missouri, of Rutledge, Missouri, was duly elected National Commander of the Association, and S. M. French, 12th Iowa, of Denver, Colorado, was duly appointed Adjutant and Quartermaster. Whereupon the National Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors adjourned, to meet at Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, April 6, 1907.

B. H. COOPER,

Senior Vice and Acting Commander.

S. M. FRENCH, *Adjutant.*

CHAPTER IV.

SECOND ANNUAL REUNION.

The second annual Reunion and business meeting of the the National Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors convened on the Battlefield at Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, and was met at the wharf by Major D. W. Reed, of the National Shiloh Military Park Commission, and George P. Dean, Superintendent of the National Cemetery, located just on top of the bluff.

With Commander Holman in charge, we marched up the bluff to the flagstaff located in the Cemetery, where, after prayer by the Chaplain, each Survivor sought the graves of the fallen heroes of his regiment, counted the same o'er and o'er, and, with bared heads and bent forms, paid due homage thereto.

We next proceeded to the office of George P. Dean, Superintendent of the Cemetery, and then to the office of Major Reed, where all registered.

This being the first time most of the Survivors had ever returned to the Battlefield, all were exceedingly anxious to view the entire Battlefield.

About half a mile from the top of the bluff, and nearly due west from the Landing, we came to the famous Siege-gun Battery, located at the exact spot where it stood at the time of the battle, when, at 5 p. m. on Sunday, it mowed a tremendous swath in the ranks of the enemy. This is the identical spot where General Hurlbut's Fourth Division, Army of the Tennessee, remained in line of battle throughout that fearful Sunday night, without food and without shelter from the fearful storm.

Just west of the Siege-gun Battery stands the lofty and

imposing monument erected by the State of Iowa to honor and perpetuate the memory of all her sons engaged in the Battle of Shiloh. One mile and a half west from the Landing stands the monument erected to the memory of the Fourth Division, Army of the Tennessee, known as the Hurlbut Headquarters Monument, near which the Fourth Division was camped before the battle. But this is located at least 75 yards too far east. And the author found the camp marker for his regiment on the wrong side of the road leading by Hurlbut's headquarters, and it was facing the wrong way.

The complete roster of Survivors in attendance follows:

- B. H. Roward and wife, F, 131 Illinois, Barry, Ill.
- T. J. Jones and wife, C, 99th Illinois, Barry Ill.
- A. B. Wike and wife, artisan, Barry, Ill.
- J. A. Dillon and wife, E, 41st Illinois, Tecumseh, Neb.
- Capt. H. L. Hadsell and wife, 28th Illinois, Barry, Ill.
- A. T. Hayes, B, 2nd Illinois Cavalry, Lincoln, Ill.
- James Gilchrist, B, 51st Illinois, Eden, Ill.
- T. J. Pegran, H, 7th Illinois Infantry, Lincoln, Ill.
- F. E. Gobel, C, 58th Illinois, Fort Cobb, Okla.
- T. A. Lemmon, D, 5th Ohio Cavalry, 625 Old Colony Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
- R. D. Fletcher, I, 12 Iowa Infantry, Thayer, Ill.
- James Barnhart, K, 45th Illinois, Peotone, Ill.
- Charles Peck, H, 52nd Illinois, Spring Hill, Kan.
- B. Boice and wife, H, 53rd Ohio, Spring Hill, Kan.
- J. O. Hattenstein, G, 20th Illinois, Humboldt, Kan.
- De Bold Furrer, F, 28th Illinois, Easton, Ill.
- Charles L. Cooper, 2nd Illinois Artillery, Denver, Col.
- J. Y. Hussen, A, 32nd Illinois, Sherman, Ill.
- Thomas Stotler, G, 9th Illinois, Herrin, Ill.
- C. R. Walters, A, 32nd Illinois, Williamsville, Ill.
- R. C. Goss, G, 101 Illinois, 2438 Boul. F, Denver, Col.
- G. W. Reese, H, 28th Illinois, Lewistown, Ill.
- Samuel M. Howard, H and A, 28th Illinois, Gettysburg, S. D.

H. T. Wilcox, 11th Kentucky Infantry, Sheridan Co., Kan.

E. O. Brooks, A, 34th Illinois, Concordia, Kan.

S. M. French, F, 12th Iowa, Denver, Col.

J. W. Pettee, H, 57th Illinois, Denver, Col.

(He was the designer of our official badge.)

W. A. Van Fossen, 78th Ohio, Ottawa, Kan.

W. A. Roberts, B, 8th Iowa, Dudley, Iowa.

D. K. Wintermute, H, 11th Iowa, Muscatine, Iowa.

George T. Martin and wife, H, 11th Iowa, Muscatine, Iowa.

John S. Martin, 5th Kentucky, Dodge City, Iowa.

Mrs. Mary McKinley (Honorary member).

Joseph Moore, L, 5th Ohio Cavalry, Rosedale, Kan.

S. H. Stoddard, E, 78th Illinois, Greeley, Col.

Dr. D. B. Adams, 12th Kentucky, Cameron, Mo.

John Barnes, C, 20th Iowa, Lafayette, Col.

J. W. Potts, H, 17th Illinois, Lewistown, Ill.

J. C. Hitchner, I, 1st Illinois Light Artillery, Esbon, Kan.

Charles F. Young and wife, G, 41st Iowa, Taylorville, Ill.

Albert Scates, G, 41st Illinois, Taylorville, Ill.

P. J. Smith, E, 32nd Illinois, Taylorville, Ill.

G. W. Batzer, A, 41st Illinois, Decatur, Ill.

J. A. Witroy, E, 41st Illinois, Decatur, Ill.

H. G. Keplinger, A, 32nd Illinois, Franklin, Ill.

H. W. Keplinger, A, 32nd Illinois, Kansas City, Kan.

Alexander Van Winkle, A, 32nd Illinois, Franklin, Ill.

J. S. Druety, H, 32nd Illinois, Franklin, Ill.

Allen Laird, K, 45th Iowa, Woodhull, Ill.

J. C. Hershner, artisan, Woodhull, Ill.

Captain Farley, 8th Wisconsin, Paducah, Ky.

A. L. Spencer, E, 15th Iowa, Mansfield, Mo.

T. E. Smith, F, 41st Illinois, Clinton, Ill.

Sam Culbertson, D, 14th Illinois, Whitehall, Ill.

T. W. Holman, Com. S. A., D, 21st Missouri, Rutledge, Mo.

Fred Yost, A, 21st Missouri, Sylvia, Kan.

Matt Kline, C, 41st Iowa, Clayton, Ill.

W. L. Clark, D, 41st Iowa, Clinton, Ill.
H. C. Porter, I, 41st Iowa, Clinton, Ill.
F. M. Pharos, C, 41st Iowa, Clinton, Ill.
W. C. Burley, C, 57 Wisconsin, Cerro Gordo, Ill.
F. A. Smith, D, 32nd Illinois, Whitehall, Ill.
Charles Cowles, 9th Illinois, Mowequa, Ill.
T. A. Smith, D, 32nd Illinois, Whitehall, Ill.
William Jessup, D, 5th Ohio Cavalry, Cleves, Ohio.
T. A. Herring, Chaplain, 25th Indiana, Gentryville, Ind.
S. R. Barck, Adjutant, 12th Iowa, Washington, D. C.
W. A. Joy, H, 48th Ohio, Joyful, Mich.
Henry H. Hilsbrand, E, 48th Ohio, Washington C. H., Ohio.
W. H. Bate, I, 72nd Ohio, Rising Sun, Ohio.
C. Deith, I, 72nd Ohio, Depot, Ohio.
Miss Ida Deith, I, 72nd Ohio, Depot, Ohio.
William T. Raithbue, B, 7th Iowa, Lynnville, Ind.
J. Fairbanks, I, 72nd Ohio, Helena, Ohio.
Major J. H. Ashcraft, 26th Kentucky, Paducah, Ky.
J. Q. Moses, I, 72nd Ohio, Kansas, Ohio.
Reuben Johnson, F, 32nd Iowa, Rives, Tenn.
W. T. Raibome, B, 7th Iowa, Lynnville, Ind.
Adam Garlick, B, 25th Indiana, Commerce, Ind.
G. E. Lockhart, H, 72nd Ohio, Akron, Ohio.

Ed. L. Hobart, of Denver, presented a petition in relation to the falsehoods contained in our school and other histories, praying for appointment of a committee to investigate the same and report; and the committee was appointed by the Commander, with Hobart as chairman thereof. After the committee had reported, a motion was made to lay the petition on the table. Vote being taken, the petition was tabled.

At the campfire held after supper many thrilling reminiscences were related by Survivors, and all had a regular love-feast, and many expressed the determination to return each year as long as they were able so to do.

Resolutions were adopted expressing thanks of the Association to Captain J. M. Massengale, general traffic agent of the St. Louis and Tennessee River Packet Company, for the kindness and courtesy of all officers and employees of the steamer which transported us here.

On April 7th the annual business meeting was held, with Commander Holman in the chair, who was again elected Commander for the current year, and Selden M. French was duly appointed Adjutant and Quartermaster.

Thereupon, at 5:30 p. m., we sailed for St. Louis, stopping at Savannah, where General Grant had his headquarters at the time of the battle, in the Cherry mansion, and where Generals W. H. L. Wallace and C. F. Smith died. Also stopped a few minutes at Fort Henry. Just before arrival at St. Louis, we held the last campfire, and all shook hands and bade farewell, determined to come again next April.

CHAPTER V.

THIRD ANNUAL REUNION.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, April 2, 1908.

The Survivors Association congregated here for the third annual Reunion and business meeting, to be held on the Battlefield of Shiloh, April 6-7, 1908, and sailed at 5 p. m. for Pittsburg Landing. Arrived at Cairo the next morning, and passed Paducah soon after midnight, and Forts Henry and Heiman the next day, arriving at Pittsburg Landing for breakfast on the 6th, where we were again welcomed by Superintendents Reed and Dean. We marched up the bluff to the Cemetery, to music of fife and drum, where the Chaplain offered prayer, after which we proceeded to the office of Comrade Dean, where all registered, and next to the office of Superintendent Reed.

The following is the roster of Survivors in attendance:

J. O. Hottenstein, G, 20th Illinois, Humboldt, Kan.
Charles S. Cooper, D, 2nd Illinois Artillery, Denver, Col.
J. Y. Hussey, A, 32nd Illinois, Sherman, Ill.
C. R. Walters, A, 32nd Illinois, Williamsville, Ill.
R. J. Smith, E, 32nd Illinois, Taylorville, Ill.
H. G. Keplinger, A, 32nd Illinois, Franklin, Ill.
Alexander Van Winkle, A, 32nd Illinois, Franklin, Ill.
J. S. Daugherty, H, 32nd Illinois, Franklin, Ill.
T. A. Smith, D, 32nd Illinois, Whitehall, Ill.
Reuben Johnson, F, 32nd Illinois, Rives, Tenn.
Thomas Stotler, A, 9th Illinois, Herrin, Ill.
Charles Cowles, I, 9th Illinois, Moweaqua, Ill.
R. C. Gross, G, 101st Illinois, 2838 Boul. F, Denver, Col.
H. T. Wilcox, H, 11th Kentucky, Sheridan Co., Kan.

E. O. Brooks, A, 34th Illinois, Concordia Sq., St. Louis, Mo.
Selden M. French, F, 12th Iowa, Denver, Col.
J. W. Potts, H, 17th Illinois, Lewistown, Ill.
W. P. Van Fossen, I, 78th Ohio, Ottumwa, Iowa.
W. A. Roberts, B, 8th Iowa Cavalry, Dudley, Iowa.
I. N. Milton, D, 14th Illinois, Uther, Col.
Sam Culbertson, D, 14th Illinois, Whitehall, Ill.
W. W. Clark, D, 14th Illinois, Colfax, Iowa.
W. A. Cox, C, 57th Indiana, Rutledge, Mo.
J. W. Pettee, H, 57th Indiana, Denver, Col.
B. K. Wintermute, H, 11th Iowa, Muscatine, Iowa.
John S. Martin, H, 5th Kentucky, Dodge City, Kan.
Samuel M. Howard, H and A, 28th Illinois, Gettysburg, S. D.
S. H. Southard, E, 78th Illinois, Greeley, Col.
George W. Reese, H, 28th Illinois, Lewistown, Ill.
Oliver Wood, H, 28th Illinois, Ipava, Ill.
Dr. D. B. Adams, 12th Kentucky, Cameron, Mo.
John Barnes, C, 20th Illinois, Lafayette, Col.
L. W. Potts, H, 17th Illinois, Lewistown, Ill.
J. C. Hitchner, I, 1st Illinois Light Artillery, Esbon, Kan.
Capt. E. Farley, 8th Wisconsin, Paducah, Ky.
A. L. Spencer, E, 15th Illinois, Marshfield, Mo.
T. E. Smith, F, 41st Illinois, Clinton, Ill.
T. W. Holman, D, 21st Missouri, Rutledge, Mo.
Fred Yost, D, 21st Missouri, Sylvia, Kan.
F. A. Herning, Chaplain, 35th Indiana, Gentryville, Ind.
S. R. Burch, Adjutant, 12th Wisconsin, Washington, D. C.
W. A. Joy, H, 48th Ohio, Joyfield, Mich.
Henry H. Hildebrand, E, 48th Ohio, Washington C. H., Ohio.
Charles H. Davis, C, 72nd Illinois, St. Louis, Mo.
Gottlieb Elochart, H, 72nd Ohio, Akron, Ohio.
I. Q. Moses, I, 72nd Ohio, Kansas, Ohio.
W. H. Bates, 72nd Ohio, Rising Sun, Ohio.
J. C. Dieter, I, 72nd Ohio, Depot, Ohio.
J. Fairbanks, I, 72nd Ohio, Helena, Ohio.

Major J. H. Ashcraft, 26th Kentucky Infantry, Paducah, Ky.
Adam Garlicht, B, 25th Indiana, Corners, I. T.

And there are about 35 honorary members.

After dinner aboard the steamer, the Survivors again roamed over the Battlefield and witnessed the scenes of the deadliest great pitched battle of all time. Several went to see the Jones field, where the Fourth Division made the famous charge on Monday, in which the 28th Illinois lost 35 men.

At the campfire to-night, George W. Reese, Company H, 28th Illinois Infantry, Lewistown, Illinois, told that, on Saturday night before the battle, he was placed on guard before General Hurlbut's headquarters and marched back and forth before his door in the double log house, when on duty, all that night; and, more than this, that he never was relieved. Hence that, according to military usage, he is still pacing back and forth before that log cabin, although there is now no cabin there. But there is another log cabin, on the same side of the road, but about 100 yards west of the cabin where General Hurlbut had his headquarters at the time of the battle.

And Comrade De Bold Furrer, Company A, 28th Illinois Infantry, Easton, Illinois, told how he was promoted from a private clear up to a corporal, and that he officiated as such for one whole day, when he was reduced to the ranks again.

Comrade Ed. Penston, 73rd Illinois, Pittsfield, Illinois, although not present at the Battle of Shiloh, took great pride in the heroic conduct of Hurlbut's Fourth Division—the Stone Wall of Shiloh, and made it a point to attend all the Reunions of the Survivors Association.

Major Farley, 8th Wisconsin, Paducah, Kentucky, related how, early in the battle, he straddled a mule, and how Major Ashcraft, 26th Kentucky, being in an intense hurry to get away, jumped aboard behind him, but facing backward instead of forward, and shouted, "For God's sake, Farley hurry away from here, without waiting for me to change front!"



MAJOR DE LONG RICE,
Director Shiloh National Military Park, Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee.

After supper on the 7th, came the annual election of officers for the current year, with Commander Holman in the chair; and he was again re-elected Commander of the Association. Soon after which we sailed for St. Louis again, stopping a few minutes at Savannah and Fort Henry.

Just before reaching St. Louis, the last campfire of this Reunion was held, after which a general farewell was held and all shook hands with all for the final parting, to meet again on the Battlefield, April 6, 1909.

CHAPTER VI.

FOURTH ANNUAL REUNION.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, April 2, 1909.

The National Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors again assembled here aboard the steamer furnished by Captain Massengale, with Commander Holman in charge, *en route* to Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee River.

We sailed down the Father of Rivers at 5 p. m., passed Thebes at daylight, and arrived at Cairo next forenoon, where we were met and welcomed by the Mayor. We passed Paducah the following night, where Major Ashcraft joined us. We passed Forts Henry and Heiman next day, and arrived at Pittsburg Landing for breakfast on the 6th, where we were again welcomed by Superintendents Dean and Reed. We marched up the bluff to music of fife and drum to the flag floating at half-mast in the Cemetery, where, after prayer by the Chaplain, all paid fitting devotion to their fallen Comrades, after which we proceeded to the office of Superintendent Dean, and then to Major Reed's, where all registered. We were joined here by several Confederates. For a list of those attending, see roster of last year, as there is but little change. The Comrades again visited the scenes of the deadly conflict of '62, and explained, each to other, what occurred at each place. All returned to the boat for dinner and supper, after which campfire was held as usual, and many thrilling incidents were related by various Comrades. Resolutions were again adopted expressing thanks to Captain Massengale for the kind treatment of the officers and crew of his steamer.

At the annual business meeting and election of officers, with Commander Holman in the chair, he was again re-elected

Commander for the current year, and he again appointed S. M. French as Adjutant and Quartermaster.

At about 5 p. m. we started back, and stopped at Savannah for a few minutes, and also at Fort Henry, where the ironclads played havoc with the Rebels. But the boat never stops at Fort Heiman, where we ran the Rebels away from their breakfast and helped ourselves thereto. As a matter of fact, the main fort should have been at Heiman, for this (as the name implies) is a lofty hill, while Henry is on a low bottom and could not well be defended.

Just before reaching St. Louis, the final campfire was held, and the final shaking of hands and farewells were shared in by all, some of whom never met again.

CHAPTER VII.

FIFTH ANNUAL REUNION.

ST. LOUIS, MO., April 2, 1910.

Commander Holman and many Survivors met to-day aboard the steamer bound for Pittsburg Landing to attend the fifth annual Reunion of Battle of Shiloh Survivors. We fired a cannon for the starting salute as we passed Benton Barracks, and were cheered onward by the ringing of bells and blowing of whistles.

We passed Bird's Point, Missouri, turned into the Ohio, and arrived at Cairo next forenoon, where we were again welcomed by the Mayor and citizens of that patriotic little city. We reached Paducah near midnight, where we were again joined by Major Ashcraft, one of the Commissioners of the Shiloh National Military Park. We passed Forts Henry and Heiman the next day, and arrived at Pittsburg Landing for breakfast on the 6th, where we were welcomed by Major Reed and Superintendent Dean. We marched up the bluff as usual to music of fife and drum, where, after prayer by the Chaplain, we paid our devotion to our fallen heroes at their windowless abodes in the Cemetery. For a list of attendants, see roster of two years ago, which is nearly correct for this year.

Survivors visited the great Pyramid where forty of the dead heroes of the 28th Illinois Infantry were originally buried, and then went to General Hurlbut's headquarters and the camps of the Fourth Division, and thence to the Regimental Monuments of the First Brigade along the east side of the Peach Orchard; then to the Albert Sidney Johnston Monument and the place where he drew his last breath in the ravine near by, and then out to the cross-roads where Johnston had

his headquarters during the battle; and then on out to the Seay field, where Colonel Moore, of the 21st Missouri, opened the deadliest conflict of all time.

After supper came the campfire, followed by music and dancing as usual. The 7th was spent in tramping around the Battlefield again. Some went to Corinth in cars. The list of attendants is much the same as last year, except a couple who were mustered out.

It is worthy of remark that every one attending served in the Grand Army of the Tennessee, which never met a single defeat, although hard pressed at Shiloh.

After supper came the annual business meeting and election of officers for the following year, at which Commander Holman was re-elected Commander, and S. M. French was re-appointed Adjutant and Quartermaster.

At 5 p. m. Bob Hunter fire the salute, and we commenced the return, stopping at Savannah for a few minutes only. A committee was again appointed which reported resolutions of thanks to Captain Massengale for the kind treatment of officers and crew of our steamer. After turning up the Mississippi again and passing Cape Girardeau, a final campfire meeting was held, preparatory to final separation, and each shook hands with each, all bidding final farewell.

CHAPTER VIII.

SIXTH ANNUAL REUNION.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, April 2, 1911.

Commander Holman and other Survivors met on board the steamer, where we all had a friendly shake of greeting once more, after which we roamed about the city considerably.

At 5 p. m. De Bold Furrer loaded the cannon and fired a salute as we passed Benton Barracks *en route* for Pittsburg Landing and the Battlefield of Shiloh. As we came to the Cape next forenoon the author looked in vain for John R. Easley, of Company H, 28th Illinois. Another gun was fired as we passed Bird's Point, turned up the Ohio, and landed again at Cairo, where the Mayor and several ladies gave us another welcome to the city.

We arrived at Paducah during the next night, where we were joined by Major Ashcraft, of the Shiloh National Military Park Commission. We passed Forts Henry and Heiman next day, and arrived at Johnsonville, where we were joined by Colonel Basil Duke, brother-in-law to John Morgan, of the Confederate Army, and reached Pittsburg Landing for breakfast on the 6th, where we were again welcomed by Superintendents Dean and Reed. We marched up the bluff to music of fife and drum to the flagstaff, where Old Glory was floating at half-mast, where, after prayer by the Chaplain, we paid fitting devotion to our fallen heroes, and then visited the headquarters of Dean and Reed, where we registered and were welcomed by two of the Shiloh National Military Park Commission, Ashcraft and Duke.

Roster of Comrades attending the Reunion of 1911:

T. W. Holman, D, 21st Missouri, Rutledge, Mo.

W. T. Grown, 32nd Illinois, Carlinville, Ill.

S. M. French, 12th Iowa, Chicago, Ill.
T. A. Lemmon, D, 5th Ohio Cavalry, Chicago, Ill.
R. D. Fletcher, F, 122nd Illinois, Thayer, Ill.
L. W. Brannon, D, 6th Iowa Infantry, Princeton, Mo.
M. Walton, D, 32nd Illinois, Whitehall, Ill.
Caleb Cappa, A, 32nd Illinois, Palmyra, Ill.
J. C. Jones, C, 14th Illinois, Carlinville, Ill.
T. E. Margrove, H, 20th Illinois, Wardon, Neb.
William Jessup, D, 5th Ohio Cavalry, Cleves, Ohio.
Samuel M. Howard, H and A, 28th Illinois, Gettysburg, S. D.
L. P. Long, D, 3rd Kentucky, Wright, Ill.
De Bold Furrer, A, 28th Illinois, Easton, Ill.
F. O. Brooks, 54th Illinois, Concordia, Kan.
Dr. J. M. Temple, F, 10th Missouri, Eldon, Mo.
A. T. Hayes, E, 7th Illinois, Lincoln, Ill.
August Hacke, A, 122nd Illinois, Carlinville, Ill.
S. J. Riggs, A, 61st Illinois, Whitehall, Ill.
Sam Culbertson, D, 14th Illinois, Whitehall, Ill.
Harry Cline, A, 54th Ohio, Oak Grove, Mo.
N. Mathias, K, 1st Missouri Artillery, Moberly, Mo.
J. S. Gasclear, D, 44th Indiana, Harper, Kan.
George Lee, D, 132nd Illinois, Chesterfield, Ill.
H. P. Warner, B, 12th Michigan, Mendon, Ill.
Dr. J. P. Brown, A, 18th Illinois, Benton, Ill.
C. H. Rhodes, 131st Ohio, Carlinville, Ill.
F. B. Fisher, D, 23rd Missouri, Florine, Kan.
J. I. Ebbitt, G, 50th Illinois, Avon, Ill.
H. L. Martin, B, 2nd Michigan Artillery, Chicago.
M. Smallenberg, B, 2nd Louisiana, Buffalo, N. Y.
George Furrer, M, 2nd Illinois Cavalry, Easton, Ill.
S. M. Welton, F, 133rd Illinois, Nilwood, Ill.
T. C. Laird, G, 46th Illinois, Lawrence, Neb.
J. G. Miller, E, 32nd Illinois, Elsau, Ill.
John Underfinger, G, 43rd Illinois, St. Elmo, Ill.
Henry Burell, G, 15th Illinois, Freeport, Ill.

William Layton, H, 33rd Illinois, Concordia, Kan.

M. W. Wilcox, C, 8th Iowa, Concordia, Kan.

C. G. Shanks, C, U. S. 86th Ohio, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Charles Barrett, A, 46th Illinois, Sioux Falls, S. D.

J. R. Easley, H, 28th Illinois, Cairo, Ill.

W. T. Raintouran, B, 7th Illinois, Lynville, Ill.

Major J. H. Ashcraft, 26th Kentucky, Paducah, Ky.

D. W. Duke, Brig. General, Confederate Army, Louisville, Ky.

Hiram Stard, F, 21st Missouri, Famersville, Ohio.

C. C. Sirihling, G, 12th Iowa, Clifton, Tenn.

T. F. Largo, E, 12th Iowa, Pittsburg Landing, Tenn.

D. R. Russ, D, 13th Iowa, Pittsburg Landing, Tenn.

And also 45 honorary members.

At Cape Girardeau, Illinois, we were joined by John R. Easley, Company H, 28th Illinois, whom the author had never seen since we were mustered out at Camp Butler, Illinois, May 16, 1866. He paid his way to Cairo, but intended to go no further. On learning this, believing he was short of funds, I paid his fare to Shiloh and return. John married a Southern woman for his second wife, but they did not live together long. He agreed to go with us every year as long as able, but I have never seen him since. George W. Reese met him at the Vicksburg celebration, and he may be living yet.

At the campfire held aboard on the evening of the 6th, General Duke told some striking incidents of the Battle of Shiloh. Among other matters, he said the Rebels generally, as well as himself, were in a great hurry to get into the battle, but were in a much greater hurry to get out of it again.

The day was spent in inspecting various parts of the Battlefield, after which all returned to the boat for supper and rest. Then came the campfire, followed by music and dancing as usual.

The 7th was spent by Comrades in a similar way. At 5 p. m. Bob Hunter fired the parting salute, amid the waving of handkerchiefs on shore, and we started down the Tennessee.

At the campfire that night T. W. Holman was re-elected Commander for the following year, and S. M. French was again appointed Adjutant and Quartermaster.

After passing Cape Girardeau, the usual parting campfire was held, all shaking hands and wishing safe return to homes, and many promised to return next year.

CHAPTER IX.

SEVENTH ANNUAL REUNION.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, April 2, 1912.

Commander Holman and many Survivors again met aboard the steamer provided by Captain Massengale and had a glorious greeting. At 5 p. m. Bob Hunter, our chief of artillery, fired a salute as we passed Benton Barracks, *en route* for the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Shiloh, to be held at Pittsburg Landing.

We passed Thebes and her grand steel bridge during the night, and Bird's Point next morning, arriving at Cairo before dinner, where we received a cordial welcome from the Mayor and many ladies. We reached Paducah the following night, where we were joined by Major Ashcraft and one or two more. We stopped at Fort Henry next day, and arrived at Pittsburg Landing for breakfast on the 6th, where we were welcomed by Major Reed and Superintendent Dean. We marched up the hill to stirring music of fife and drum to the Cemetery flagstaff, with the flag floating at half-mast, where, after prayer, we rendered devout homage to Shiloh's sainted dead. Then we proceeded to the offices of Superintendents Dean and Reed, where we again registered. Many went to Shiloh's great Pyramid, or Prehistoric Mound, where forty of the fallen heroes of the 28th Illinois were originally placed at rest, and then to the Hurlbut headquarters, where the Fourth Division was camped prior to the battle; then to the Bloody Pond, and on to the four Regimental Monuments of the First Brigade, Fourth Division, Army of the Tennessee; then to the Johnston Monument and the spot where he died. Some then went away out to the Seay field, where the Battle of Shiloh was opened at first peep of day on Sunday, April 6,

1862. Other Comrades went to the Illinois State Monument, Shiloh Church, Shiloh, and Ray Springs, returning by Jones field, where the Fourth Division lost heavily on Monday; and some went to Corinth in automobiles. All returned to the boat for dinner, where they recounted all they had just seen.

After partaking of a splendid dinner aboard the boat, Commander Holman called all together to hear an address by Judge Howard, 28th Illinois Infantry, now of Gettysburg, South Dakota, who spoke as follows:

ORATION DELIVERED AT THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
GREAT BATTLE OF SHILOH BY SAMUEL M. HOWARD,
TWENTY-EIGHTH ILLINOIS INFANTRY,
GETTYSBURG, SOUTH DAKOTA.

Mr. Commander Holman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This National Association of Survivors of the Battle of Shiloh was formed at Denver, that wonderful City of the the Plains. in 1905, for the purpose in part (and no small part either) of paying dutiful tribute to the memory of our fallen Comrades whose tongues can lisp no more.

In the religious observance of this most sacred duty, it must be remembered that we can never add to the grandeur of their respective crowns of glory. Nevertheless we have inaugurated this dutiful custom, and let us trust that this custom may be continued onward till Time shall be no more.

Prior to the movement of General Grant up this rock-bound river, the enemy had taken time by the forelock by establishing a strong defensive line of fortifications stretching from Columbus, Kentucky, eastward, through Forts Heiman and Henry and Donelson, to Bowling Green, Kentucky, and thence onward to Virginia, protecting their line of railway leading from Columbus, Hickman, and Memphis to Bowling Green and onward to the east, and had established his military headquarters at Bowling Green.

But the Union military successes at Forts Heiman, Henry,

and Donelson, together with the evacuation of Nashville by the enemy, had completely severed this first strong line of defense and had compelled the enemy to fall back to the Corinth lines of railway, stretching from various points on the Mississippi eastward to Corinth and onward to Virginia.

From this brief summary of the military situation, it may readily be seen that the paramount reason for this movement onward up the Tennessee River from Fort Henry to this point was to capture Corinth, sever in twain this new line of defense, disrupt the entire railway system of the South west of the Alleghenies, and open the way to the vitals of the South.

And surely this is just what led to the deadly conflict here.

My Comrades, just half a century ago to-day and to-morrow, upon the environments which now surround us here, five divisions of the grand Army of the Tennessee, commanded respectively by Generals John A. McClernand, W. H. L. Wallace, Stephen A. Hurlbut, William T. Sherman, and Benjamin M. Prentiss, all under command of Major General Ulysses S. Grant, waged the deadliest great pitched battle of all time, resulting in the aggregate loss of more than 26,000 men in killed, wounded, and missing, clad either in blue or gray, all of whom were then at the sunrise of manhood, with all which that implies.

Of this enormous loss, more than 3,477 were killed outright, whilst some 1,500 more were mortally wounded and died of their wounds within a few days after the conclusion of the battle, each and all of whom, with but few exceptions, at this very moment are fast asleep in their windowless mansions in this National Military Park, everywhere sentineled by guardian angels. And even now

The whip-poor-will is calling
From its perch on splintered limb,
And its plaintive notes are trilling
As objects are becoming dim.

The struggling rays of starlight
Are silvering o'er each shrub and tree
Beside the graves of Shiloh's dead,
Within the woods of Tennessee.

The leaves now gently rustle
With no remaining stain of red,
As when for fallen comrade
They formed the lowly bed
From which, with fervent prayer,
He vainly sought to flee
From torture worse than death,
Within the woods of Tennessee.

In frightful numbers here reposing
Within their long-remembered graves,
Upon the bluffs, upon the hillsides,
When Old Glory proudly waves;
Their memories still remain,
For you and for me,
The dearest heritage of all,
Within the woods of Tennessee.

In order that all may fully comprehend the vast importance of the great battle waged here, it is necessary to recall, as briefly as possible, the whole military situation which then, like a vast pall, overhung our then distracted land.

It should constantly be remembered and kept in mind that, at all times subsequent to the first Battle of Bull Run in Virginia, and prior to the great conflict here, the lowering clouds of national adversity enshrouded our whole beloved land; and that both men and women, everywhere, filled with dire distress, with pale lips and bated breath, were whispering each to each, "The foe! he comes! he comes!"

And these, and such as these, were the foreboding surroundings prevailing everywhere at the time this battle was fought.

"But whence came it all?" someone may inquire.

Let me answer, once for all. You doubtless remember

that, on the 21st day of the preceding July, the first great pitched battle of the war had been waged at Bull Run in Virginia, from which the greater part of McDowell's army had fled like deer before the bloodhound's heavy bay, and that they would have been running yet if they could have gotten farther away from Bull Run.

Let us pause and mark well the critical situation which then prevailed at Washington, following this disgraceful defeat at Bull Run. It is generally believed that if, instead of Beauregard, the great Napoleon had been in command of the enemy at Bull Run, he would have seized Washington, New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore without a moment's delay, and that the great conflict would thereupon have terminated with the severing in twain of the United States, and that thereupon the great Republic would have ceased to be.

Bear well in mind, my Comrades, that these were the times which severely tried the very souls of men. To repeat the words of a patriot of the Revolution, "The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot had fled to Canada." Everywhere consternation reigned supreme. From the smouldering ashes of Bull Run arose the pall of gloom which enveloped our whole beloved land like the pall of gloom over the tomb of the loved and lost.

And this fearful distrust and gloom was boosted on by the declaration of the cotton States that one soldier from the far South could easily put to flight a dozen from the loyal States; and, adding fuel to the raging flames of distrust, the deep disgrace our cause sustained at Bull Run seemed to have proven this boasting to be true.

But nevertheless, my Comrades, peering through this overhanging mantle of gloom, just one twinkling ray of starlight could still be seen: The hardy sons of the loyal Northwest had never yet fled in disgrace from any combat, and why should they now? And thereon lay a sole hope.

And bear well in mind, these, and such as these, were the sole surroundings which everywhere prevailed at the time this battle was waged.

Also bear well in mind that, in the West, the Mississippi River then constituted, much more than it does now, the great commercial highway between the North and South. Hence, at the very outset of the war, the control of this great river became a matter of the utmost importance. Fully realizing this, the Richmond government had lost no time in fortifying the Mississippi from Columbus, Kentucky, only 25 miles below Cairo, clear through to the Gulf of Mexico, and had at many available points mounted a large number of great guns and provided ample garrisons therefor. And just as soon as all this had been completed, they proclaimed Vicksburg as the "Gibraltar of the Mississippi," and even declared Columbus to be impregnable, and impatiently awaited attack thereon.

But they waited in vain. Columbus was never assailed, and I will tell you the reason why.

Bear well in mind that Columbus is 25 miles below Cairo, and that Memphis, the metropolis of the Mississippi below Cairo, is located 250 miles below Cairo, and Corinth is located 150 miles nearly due east of Memphis; and that the Tennessee River, for a distance of 225 miles, runs parallel to the Mississippi, but exactly in the opposite direction, and empties into the Ohio at Paducah; and hence, that these two rivers form parallel highways for commerce clear down to Memphis, which is situated in the same degree of latitude as Corinth.

Doubtless you will remember that, at the time General Grant started up this river, we had, in addition to his forces at Cairo, another army located at Louisville, Kentucky, then known as the Army of the Ohio; and that Louisville is situated but a little more than 200 miles above Cairo. Hence it came that General McClellan, then in command of all the Union armies, saw that two forces moving south, one from

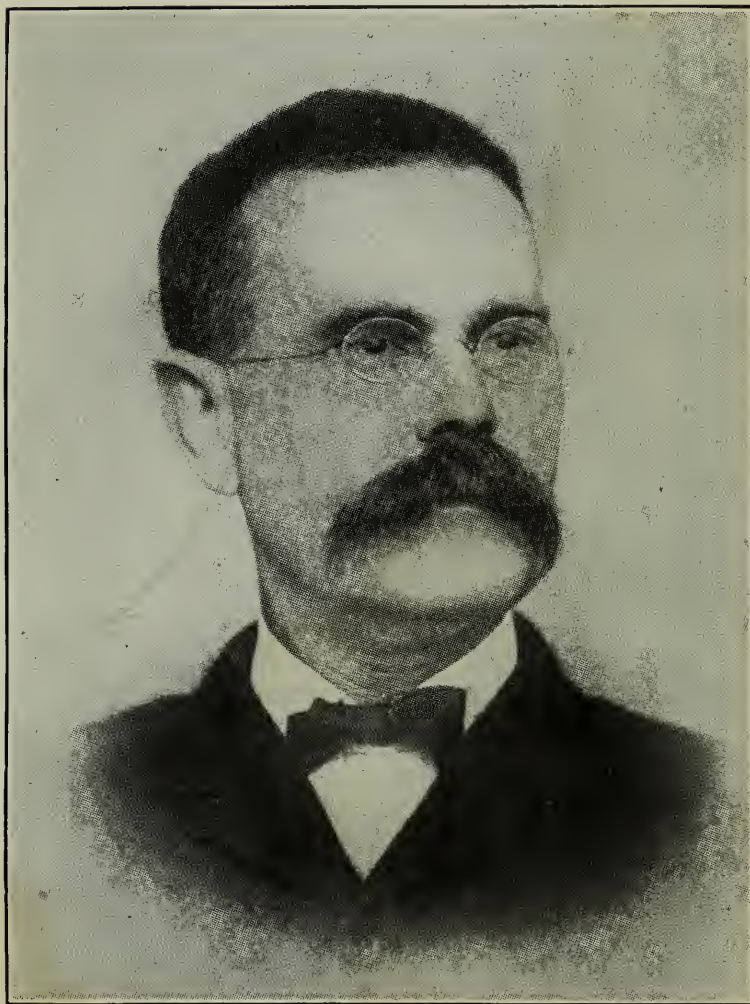
Cairo and one from Louisville, would not be in supporting distance of each other; but that, on the other hand, with one moving south from Paducah and the other from Cairo, they could readily support each other. And undoubtedly this is just what led to the final selection of this river for the purpose of assailing the vitals of the enemy.

The Tennessee River Route.

Hence it was decided not to assail Columbus from the north, but to adopt the Tennessee River for the the base of penetrating the South, and thereby compel the enemy to evacuate Columbus, his "Gibraltar of the upper Mississippi" south of Cairo.

Accordingly, commencing early in February, 1862, General Grant moved his force from Cairo up to Paducah, preparatory for assailing Forts Heiman and Henry, on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland, which are but twelve miles apart. This led to the capture of Forts Heiman and Henry on February 8th, and Fort Donelson, with more than 15,000 prisoners, on the 15th; and thereupon General C. F. Smith moved up to Savannah from Forts Henry and Donelson and established his headquarters in the Cherry mansion at Savannah, with the Second and Third Divisions, Army of the Tennessee.

Just after the capture of Donelson, General Grant left his department and went to Nashville, without the consent of Halleck, his department commander, to confer with General Buell, who had seized Nashville soon after the capture of Donelson. In consequence whereof Halleck removed General Grant from the command of the Army of the Tennessee, and placed General C. F. Smith in command thereof. And hence it was General Smith who selected this peninsula as the base for operations against Corinth; and it was he who selected even the places for the camps of each of the five divisions



COMMANDER T. W. HOLMAN.

of the Army of the Tennessee which fought throughout the battle here.

I charge you to bear well in mind that, although the captures of Forts Henry and Donelson were really important victories for the Union cause, yet, in the eyes of the Confederates, they were believed to settle nothing; for the enemy vauntingly proclaimed from every housetop: "It was the gunboats that captured Forts Henry and Donelson. Just wait till we get you out on an open battlefield, and we will show you another Bull Run." And very many people paid great heed thereto.

But, notwithstanding all this boasting, the Richmond cabal now became seriously alarmed at this invasion of Dixie; for at this point we were within less than one day's march of the sacred soil of Mississippi, the home of Jefferson Davis, the arch traitor of all. And the War Department at Richmond determined to drive us back beyond the Ohio, and thereby end the invasion of the South.

Knowing that Albert Sidney Johnston was the senior Rebel officer in the field; that he had won his spurs in the war with Mexico; that he had with marked success commanded the difficult expedition to Salt Lake in 1857, the very last move made by our Army prior to this war; and that he was then believed to be the brightest military genius in all America—Jefferson Davis at once resolved to hasten him on to Corinth to take personal command of the Confederate Department of the Mississippi. And in obedience thereto, Albert Sidney Johnston hastened on to Bowling Green, Kentucky, and speedily established his headquarters there.

Thereupon General Johnston went in person to Corinth and formally assumed command of the department, and proceeded to concentrate at that point a vast army, assigning General P. G. T. Beauregard as second in command, probably for the reason that he had commanded the Confederates at the first Battle of Bull Run.

Corinth was then, and still is, the most important railway point in all the Southwest, and its capture by the Federal forces at once became a matter of the greatest importance; and this is just what led to the selection of this landing for a base of operations against Corinth; for it was absolutely necessary to establish a base somewhere, and this peninsula seemed to be the most promising of all.

Halleck finally relented his discharge of General Grant, and again assigned Grant to command all the forces then here or on the way here. General Smith was then lying upon his death-bed in the Cherry mansion at Savannah, and there breathed his last the third day after the battle. This may have been the reason for Halleck's action.

At any rate, General Grant arrived at Savannah on March 18th, at once resumed command, and came up to this landing and reviewed the troops here on the following Sunday.

As should now be properly stated, General Stephen A. Hurlbut landed here on the 16th day of March, being the first division to form camp here, and established his headquarters and camps on the Hamburg road, in and near a large double log house which at that time stood some 150 yards west of the present log house in the Cloud field, but which long ago was swept away by the wrath of Time. Hurlbut's First Brigade was camped something like 150 to 200 yards west of his headquarters, with the 28th Illinois on the south side of the Hamburg road, and the other three on the north side, all facing toward Corinth. His Second Brigade was camped directly south of his headquarters, and his Third Brigade was camped further south.

General John A. McClernand's First Division was camped near the present location of the Illinois State Monument, just east of Shiloh Church; and General Sherman's Fifth Division was camped on both sides of the church. General W. H. L. Wallace's Second Division was camped near the present location of the Siege-gun Battery, and General Pren-

tiss' Sixth Division was camped on the left of all and about two miles from the landing. Lew Wallace's Third Division was camped at and near Crupp's Landing, about four miles south of Snake Creek, but took no part in the battle of Sunday

These six divisions then constituted the grand Army of the Tennessee, the only army which was never defeated and never turned its back to the foe during the whole war.

General Buell was then on the march from Nashville to Savannah with the Army of the Ohio, and his advance brigade arrived at Savannah on the night of the 5th; but the Army of the Ohio took no part in the battle of Sunday.

And this presents the singular fact that an army of 44,895 men, with no commander (for Grant was at Savannah), was encamped here within one day's march of Corinth, where a numerically superior force of the enemy was known to be.

Of course, General Albert Sidney Johnston, then in command of all the Confederate forces at and near Corinth, knew all about the advance of Buell from Nashville, and knew Buell would soon form a junction with Grant; and he also knew that, if he waited till after the junction, he would be outnumbered and compelled to fight a superior force. He had studied well the strategy of the great Napoleon in Italy and elsewhere, and at once resolved to follow the example of the great son of Corsica, and crush Grant with his superior force before the arrival of Buell, cross the Ohio, and end the invasion of the South, where untold thousands of sympathizers would join his victorious standard and thus terminate the war, as the East was thoroughly disheartened by the stupendous disaster at Bull Run.

This, indeed, was a brilliantly conceived plan, and it is just what caused the deadliest great pitched battle of all time to be waged here, just half a century ago to-day and to-morrow.

But nevertheless, Comrades, it is a true saying that, while man proposes, God Almighty disposes; and this was certainly

proven true here half a century ago by your loyalty, your endurance, your patience, and your bravery.

On April 3, 1862, for the purpose of carrying this brilliant plan into effect, Albert Sidney Johnston, the Confederate Commander-in-chief, promulgated the following order to his troops at Corinth:

"In the approaching battle, every effort should be made to turn the left flank of the enemy, so as to cut him off his line of retreat to the Tennessee River, and throw him back on Owl Creek, where he will be obliged to surrender."²

Let me charge you to bear this plan of battle constantly in mind; for this fully explains the reason the enemy waged on our left the most deadly of all his fighting; and it also explains the reason everything else, to a very great extent, was sacrificed in favor of this purpose; and this tells why the Peach Orchard and the vicinity of the Bloody Pond were more thickly carpeted with the slain than any similar portion of any other great battlefield of modern times.

It is worthy of remark right here that, for several days next prior to the battle, both Prentiss and Sherman had been sending out scouting parties toward Corinth, one of which at least, consisting of a detachment of the 5th Ohio Cavalry, on Friday had had a hot skirmish with the enemy out on the Corinth road, less than three miles from Shiloh Church, and came in and reported the engagement to General Sherman, who thereupon retorted: "You militia are too easily scared. General Beauregard will never dare to attack me here."

What a wonderful exhibition of incompetency is here manifested! And this, too, by the very man who afterward became the most brilliant commander of his day.

But, fortunately, General Prentiss was not so easily deceived and misled; and it is said he kept one ear to the ground throughout that eventful Saturday night. At least, he never retired; and at 2 o'clock in the morning he sent out three

²10 Rebellion Records, pp. 391-392.

companies of the 25th Missouri, under Major Powell, to reconnoiter the front. This detachment moved out, passing between the Rhea and Seay fields near the main or eastern Corinth road, and at 4:55 a. m. was fired on by the pickets of the enemy under Major Hardcastle, of Hardee's Corps, near the southeast corner of the Fraley field.

Opening the Great Battle of Shiloh.

Thereupon Major Powell returned the fire, and a sharp engagement followed, lasting for an hour and a half, when the advance of Wood's Brigade, of Hardee's Corps, drove Powell back to the Seay field, where he was reinforced by five companies of the 21st Missouri and four companies of the 16th Wisconsin, sent forward by General Prentiss. Thereupon Colonel Moore, of the 21st Missouri, took command.

This force, fighting stubbornly and retreating slowly in good order, was again reinforced at the southeast corner of the Rhea field by Peabody's Brigade, of the Sixth Division. Here they were attacked by Hardee and Bragg's Corps, which they held in check till 8 a. m., and then fell back to the camps of Prentiss, where Prentiss had formed his small division in line of battle.

The long roll was now sounded everywhere, and the deadliest of all great pitched battles was on.

General Grant, then down at Savannah on the opposite side of the river and nine miles away, hearing the loud-mouthed guns thus assailing Prentiss, at once boarded a steamboat and hastened to the scene of the conflict.

And this is just the way the battle commenced here just fifty years ago this morning.

At this line thus formed in front of his camp, General Prentiss succeeded in checking this onslaught of the enemy. But, in the very midst of a murderous fire, he was soon outflanked and driven from the field in utter rout, through the ranks of Hurlbut's First Brigade, then hastening to his relief.

But, nevertheless, it is justice only to state that shortly thereafter Prentiss successfully rallied some 800 of these heroes, which were joined by the 23rd Missouri, led them back to the right of Hurlbut, and there they fought like fiends incarnate until they were finally surrounded and captured just before 4 p. m., at the time General W. H. L. Wallace was mortally wounded. Their frightful loss in killed and wounded tells the rest. Mortal man can add no more.

During the same time in which the right of Hardee and Breckinridge's Corps was thus overthrowing Prentiss, Hardee's left and a portion of Bragg's and all of Polk's Corps began a furious attack on the divisions of McClellan and Sherman on the Purdy road, just east of the Owl Creek bridge. And this is undoubtedly the time when General Sherman said:

"About 8 o'clock I saw the glistening bayonets of heavy masses of infantry to our left front in the woods beyond the small stream alluded to, and became satisfied, *for the first time*, that the enemy designed a determined attack on our whole camp."³

And yet, at that very time, the battle had been raging with more or less fury for more than three hours; and it was then everlastingly too late to begin preparations therefor.

This first assault on Sherman and McClellan was gallantly repulsed with heavy loss to the enemy, the 6th Mississippi alone losing more than 70 per cent of all engaged. But the enemy was soon reinforced by the remainder of Bragg's Corps, and he renewed the attack with great fury and drove both of these divisions from the field with the utmost confusion and disorder, completely smashing their organizations.

The sad condition of his division is best told by Sherman himself, as follows:

"About this time, Apple's regiment broke in disorder, soon followed by fugitives from Mungen's regiment. * * When Colonel Raith, of the 46th Illinois, received a severe wound and fell from

³10 Rebellion Records, p. 249.

his horse, his regiment, and the others, manifested disorder, and the enemy got possession of three guns of this (Waterhouse's) battery. * * I rode across the angle and met Behr's Battery at the cross-roads, and ordered it immediately to unlimber and come into action, action right. Captain Behr gave the order, but was almost immediately shot from his horse, when the drivers and gunners fled in disorder, carrying off the caissons and abandoning five out of six of the guns, without firing a shot. * * *Hildebrand's Brigade* had substantially disappeared from the field, though he himself bravely remained. This was about 10:30 a. m. * * While we were so hotly pressed, two Iowa regiments approached from the rear, but could not be brought up to the severe fire in our front."⁴

But, instead of falling back towards the river and holding connection with the division of W. H. L. Wallace in the Hornets' Nest, both Sherman and McClermand's divisions fled to the north, halting on the banks of Owl Creek, thereby leaving a dangerous opening on the north side of the Hornets' Nest, which came very near losing the battle.

Thus far the enemy had swept all before him as successfully as a cyclone sweeps through the Indies. The organizations of four of the five divisions engaged had practically ceased to exist; for W. H. L. Wallace had but two of his regiments left with him, and the divisions of Sherman, McClermand, and Prentiss had been torn to tatters as heretofore stated. From this time onward for the remainder of the day, lasting more than five hours, both Sherman's and McClermand's divisions were out of the fighting. And from this time onward Stephen A. Hurlbut's Fourth Division was all that was left between the enemy and capture.

At high noon, having swept away everything before him, Albert Sidney Johnson decided to ease up on the Union right, and with the fiercest of all fighting hurl all his force on the Union center and left, expecting to drive a wedge between Hurlbut and the Tennessee River, and thus separate Grant

⁴10 Rebellion Records, pp. 249-250.

from his supplies, transportation, and reinforcements, force Grant and Hurlbut back with Sherman and McClelland on Owl Creek, and compel a surrender in full pursuance of his original order of battle. If successful, this would leave him free to cross the river, make short work of Buell, and end the war north of the Ohio, in full pursuance of his original plan of battle.

General Lew Wallace's Third Division, Army of the Tennessee, was then camped less than four miles south of the Snake Creek bridge, and had repeatedly been ordered forward by General Grant, who had arrived on the field at 10 a. m.; but for some reason or other, unknown to all but himself, his division did not arrive till midnight.

General W. H. L. Wallace, with two regiments, was still in the strongly sheltered position of the Hornets' Nest, and had therefrom, with the aid of Prentiss, repelled some six desperate charges of the enemy thereon; but, owing mainly to their shelter, these regiments met with only trifling loss.

Here came a lull in the battle, which was seized upon by Colonel Webster, Grant's chief of artillery, to mass four siege guns and all available field artillery in battery on the high ground in front of Dill's Branch, just where the Siege-gun Monument now stands.

General Albert Sidney Johnston, the Confederate Commander-in-chief, had employed this lull to shift some of his forces from the Union right back to the center and left of the Union line, in addition to those already there, twenty-eight regiments of infantry, eight batteries of artillery, and the cavalry of Clanton, Avery, and Adams. Having established his headquarters at the intersection of the Hamburg and Purdy roads, less than one mile east of the Peach Orchard and directly in front of the First Brigade of Hurlbut's Fourth Division, with intent to crush the Union center and left, he now gave his famous order: "*Forward! Let every move be forward!*"

And right then and there began the deadliest combat of

all time against the two brigades of Hurlbut, two regiments of Wallace, and the remnant of Prentiss, then fighting on the right of Hurlbut in the edge of the Hornets' Nest, lasting for five hours. Hindman's brigades, which earlier had swept everything before them, were reduced to fragments and paralyzed for the remainder of the day. A. P. Stewart's regiments made fruitless assaults. Bragg then ordered up Gibson's Brigade, which made a gallant charge, but, like the others, recoiled from the fire encountered. The colonels thought it hopeless, but Gibson led them again to the attack, and again they met a bloody repulse.

*Death of Albert Sidney Johnston and the Flanking
Move of Bragg.*

Albert Sidney Johnston, the Confederate Commander-in-chief, had superintended in person this tremendous drive against Hurlbut, assisted by his chief of staff, General Bragg, and had become convinced he had finally succeeded in forcing Hurlbut to a hasty retreat for the river, and that the battle was won. But this was a very grave mistake.

At 2:30 p. m. everything presented a scene of the utmost horror to the Union cause. True enough it surely is, General Hurlbut held fast to his position behind the worm-fence which then skirted the east side of the Peach Orchard, having been compelled to retreat to this position by the flanking move of Johnston and Bragg.

General Bragg had been constantly in the thickest of it all and had found it to be impossible to force Hurlbut from this position by an assault on his front. Hence, after more than five hours of constant failure, Johnston and Bragg resolved to move around the left flank of Hurlbut and thereby drive him back. Inasmuch as the mountain would not come to him, Bragg resolved to go to the mountain.

Bragg now commenced to move around the left flank of Hurlbut, who shifted his Third Brigade over to his left, while

his First Brigade was still screened behind the worm-fence and underbrush on the east side of the Peach Orchard, when Johnston came up out of the ravine which skirts the east side of the Peach Orchard, rode up to a point within fifty yards of the present 28th Illinois Monument, unattended, and then raised his field-glass to reconnoiter the front, supposing Hurlbut's Division had been driven back to the river. At this time our boys had had orders to cease firing, as no enemy was in sight. But the sight of the Confederate officer on his horse was more than they could stand; thereupon, in open violation of orders, about a dozen shots were fired at the intruder from the left flank of the 28th and right of the 41st Illinois, one of which sent a Minie ball through an artery of the right leg of the man on horseback (Albert Sidney Johnston), who thereupon wheeled his horse and hurried back to a large oak tree (still standing).

Death of Albert Sidney Johnston.

At this oak tree Johnston met Governor Harris, of Tennessee, who saw the General was quite pale, rode up to him, placed one hand on his shoulder to steady him in the saddle, guided both horses to a little spring close to the large oak tree, lifted the General from his horse, and laid him down upon some dry leaves, where, in less than twenty minutes, he expired.

The Drive Around the Hornets' Nest.

Just before his death, the Confederate Commander-in-chief had directed Polk and Hardee to move their corps down the north side of the Hornets' Nest, along the main Corinth road, through the opening so left by Sherman and McClernand at the time they were forced from their positions near Shiloh Church; and in compliance with this order, Polk and Hardee's Corps and one brigade of Bragg's rushed down this dangerous opening; and at this same time Hurlbut had been compelled to fall back on the south side of the

Hornets' Nest, in order to keep Bragg and Breckinridge's Corps from getting between his division and the Tennessee River, as Stewart's Brigade had just been torn to tatters.

This led to the junction of all four corps of the enemy about 200 yards northeast of the present location of the Hurlbut Monument, and thereby the enemy had the Hornets' Nest completely surrounded.

But General Hurlbut had succeeded in keeping the enemy from driving a wedge between his division and the river, and had successfully reached the Siege-gun Battery, thus hastily mounted by Colonel Webster.

Appointment of General Hurlbut to the Command of All.

Right here and now was first exhibited the great military versatility of General Grant; for he now rode up to General Hurlbut, then near the east end of the present Pavilion, and directed General Hurlbut to take immediate command of all the troops then in line and of all those to come up.

After acceptance of this great trust and return of thanks therefor, General Hurlbut conferred with Major Cavendar, directing him to take personal charge of the six 20-pounder Parrotts in the Siege-gun Battery, located in front of the First Brigade, Fourth Division, sending an aide to establish all the field artillery parallel with the Siege-gun Battery, telling Doctor Cronyn to take personal charge of one of the 20-pounder Parrotts, and instructing all others to follow the line of fire set by Doctor Cronyn as soon as he opened. Thereupon General Hurlbut conferred with Commander Gwin, of the wooden gunboat *Tyler*, requesting him to follow the line of fire of the Siege-gun Battery, as soon as the same opened on the enemy.⁵

Thereupon General Hurlbut rode his horse back and forth along the Siege-gun Battery line, and if he saw any soldier exposing himself to the fire of the enemy, shouted to him

⁵Official report of General Hurlbut, approved by Grant, 10 Rebellion Records, pp. 204-2 08.

to lie down and not expose his person to the fire of the enemy, "because *none but a field officer has a right to be shot.*"

In the meantime General Bragg had massed all his forces in the next depression south of Dill's Branch for the purpose of crushing the Army of the Tennessee before the arrival of Buell.

The Fearful Charges of Bragg.

Having got everything in readiness, General Bragg mounted his horse, drew his flashing sword, ordered all his artillery to the top of the crest in front, pointed with his sword to the Union line, and thundered forth his famous order: "*Forward! Let every move be forward!*"

Right then and there, just as soon as his charging columns had disappeared over the hill, all his artillery, some 100 great guns, opened upon the devoted Union line the mightiest cannonade ever known on this continent. On and on came the charging columns in three solid ranks, with bayonets fixed and glistening in the sun, led by the 18th Louisiana and Lone Star Regiment of Texas, all yelling like demons of the infernal regions.

General Hurlbut waited till the charging columns of the enemy had come within easy rifle-range, whereupon he shouted to Major Cavendar to open fire.

Thereupon the whole Siege-gun Battery, assisted by all the field artillery and infantry, opened on the enemy with the most fearful fire ever known in America, in which the heavy battery of the *Tyler* participated, mowing down the enemy like grain before the sickle, tearing to shreds the timber and wiping away the enemy's artillery, carpeting the whole front with the dead and dying of the enemy. Thereupon the Third Brigade of Hurlbut's Division made a gallant counter-charge, bringing back several prisoners.

Bragg's Subsequent Charges.

The 18th Louisiana had 500 men engaged in this charge,

of which 207 were either killed or wounded and left on the field, as fully appears from the official report of its colonel.⁶

Notwithstanding this fearful loss of life, General Bragg renewed the charge three successive times, but always without avail, and was just ready for another when he was halted by the arrival of Colonel Augustin, of Beauregard's staff, who handed him an order from General Beauregard to withdraw out of rifle-range.

"Has this order been promulgated?" demanded General Bragg.

"It has," replied the Colonel.

"If it were not promulgated, I would not obey it. *The battle is lost*," retorted Bragg.

And right then and there, with three hours of daylight still remaining, Bragg withdrew out of rifle-range, and quiet prevailed everywhere.

And this is just the way that General Stephen A. Hurlbut, with his "Fighting Fourth Division," assisted by many other heroes, saved the Union cause at Shiloh on the blackest Sunday known to man since time began.

Yes, yes, General Bragg was right when he said, "*The battle is lost*"; for the enemy had but just withdrawn when a portly, gray-headed Union officer, with long, flowing locks of hair as white as the snow of polar seas and mounted on a white horse, dashed up and down the Siege-gun Battery line, shouting at every stride: "Buell's Army has come! Buell's Army has come!"

And surely enough, Ammen's Brigade, of Buell's Army, were then stacking their glistening arms just beyond the Tennessee.

And right then and there, from end to end of the Union line, arose so mighty a shout that, barring the Alleghenies, it might have been heard at Washington.

⁶See official report of Colonel Mouton, 10 Rebellion Records, p. 521.

And surely enough, the sage was right in saying, "The darkest hour just precedes the day."

The Past Rises Before Me.

My Comrades, standing here before you and looking backward down the long avenues of fast-receding time, stretching backward for just half a century, filled to overflow with both good and ill, the past rises before me—not like a dream, but as a stern and omnipresent reality.

Again I see that eventful Sunday morn, and again hear the eight bells of the wooden gunboat *Tyler*, lying in the river just off the mouth of Dill's Branch, and again hear her watch proclaim, "All is well"; and again I see Major Powell with three companies of the 25th Missouri hasten away out on the eastern Corinth road to discover whether the enemy is lurking around the Seay field, and see him cautiously approach the pickets of Hardee's Corps, under Major Hardcastle, near the southeast corner of the Fraley field; and also see Colonel Moore, of the 21st Missouri, with five companies of his regiment, hastening out in the same direction, just as the last notes of a whip-poor-will, quivering through the forest, bid farewell to the departing night.

Again I hear, echoing upon that quiet Sunday morn, the sprightly reveilles from the fifes and drums of the seventy-seven regiments of infantry and the bugles of the twenty-five troops of cavalry and twenty-one batteries of artillery, located everywhere round about, summoning to roll-call more than 36,000 soldiers, and hear the orderlies call the rolls from A to Z as each soldier answers, "Here!"

And presently, again I see the king of day ushering in that cloudless Sunday morn of primitive beauty, and again inhale the bewitching fragrance of that glorious springtime morn. And again I see the inmates of our hospitals, with the aid of rudely constructed canes, hobble forth to the up-

turned lapels of their tents and gaze outward on Creation's most marvelous parade. Beautiful! How beautiful!

Again I hear reports of rifles in the distance, but am told they come from pickets discharging their guns for return to camp; but, nevertheless, none are to be seen marching in.

And then I listen for more. Hush! Hark! Did ye not hear it? Surely that is the boom of a great gun away out beyond the camps of Prentiss. And then and there, swiftly as thought can follow thought, comes another, and another, and another.

“Ah! then and there was hurrying to and fro,
And gathering tears, and tremblings of distress,
And cheeks all pale, which but an hour ago
Blushed at the praise of their own manliness;
And there were sudden partings, such as press
The life from out young hearts, and choking sighs
Which ne'er might be repeated. Who could guess
If ever more should meet those mutual eyes,
Since upon night so sweet such awful morn could rise?”

—Childe Harold.

Mr. Commander, some 90 miles or more from Pass à la Outer, away out in the stormy Gulf of Mexico, *en route* from Vera Cruz to New Orleans, arising from the hidden rocks of Ship Island Shoals, there is a lighthouse with great revolving lights, erected years ago by Uncle Sam to warn all shipping off the treacherous rocks.

This great revolving luminary has two windows, one of which transmits a light of natural color, while the other flashes forth a light as red as blood. As these windows are located on opposite sides, and are rapidly revolved round and round by clockwork, each window in its turn transmits swiftly shifting flashes of strangely contrasted light, illuminating the sea for miles and miles around.

In steaming by this lighthouse one dark and dreary night in '66, homeward bound from Dixie's war, while standing beside the foremast of the good *St. Mary*, watching the al-

ternating flashes of this great revolving light, now a flash of light of natural color and now one as red as blood, and repeating the same to myself, thus I said:

"Fire and blood! fire and blood! fire and blood!"

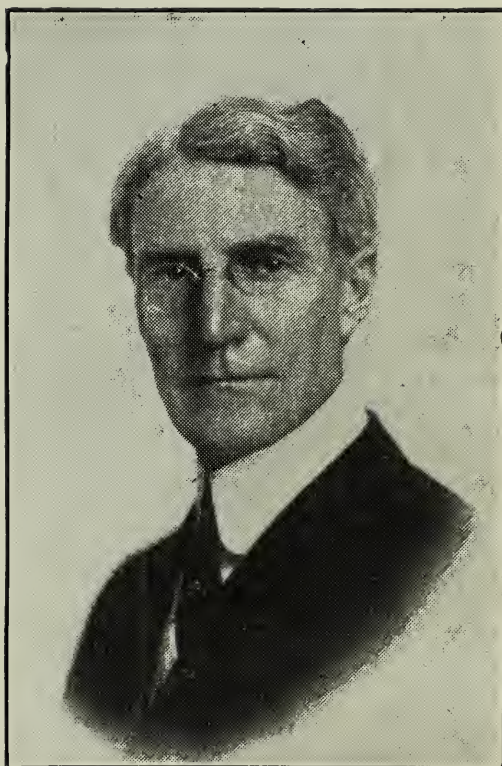
Well, Mr. Chairman, now again looking backward at the fearful scenes enacted here just fifty years ago to-day and to-morrow; at the unseemly waters of the Bloody Pond, crimsoned o'er with human blood alone; at the fearful struggle with Death in and around the Hornets' Nest; at the untold acres of dead both in and around the Peach Orchard and Shiloh Church; at the horrid heaps of amputated legs and arms stacked up around every hospital; at the deeply seated looks of horror then and there stamped upon the countenance of even the bravest of the brave; and as I now seem to see anew those flashes on the good *St. Mary*, flash on flash, flash on flash, it leads me again to utter those same words.

"Fire and blood! fire and blood! fire and blood!"

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me say to you now, if I never say it more: The 5,196 Comrades, clad either in blue or gray, now sleeping here in their windowless mansions to await the resurrection morn, did not die in vain; for just as surely as Jehovah reigns the universe around, as long as this rock-ribbed river flows onward to the sea, endless generations of men and women, with eyes blind with scalding tears, will honor their deeds for evermore, while angels from the throne on high, with outstretched arms of greeting, will gladly usher each and all into that haven above, where wars can never wage and sorrows can never come.

Monday was somewhat inclement, and most of the Comrades and honorary members stayed on the boat and hugged the stoves.

After supper another campfire was held and many anec-



CHAPLAIN J. W. CUMMINS.



dotes were related. After this came the dancing, giving all a chance for enjoyment.

We started back at the usual time at the boom of the parting gun, which sounded much better than in '62.

At the election of officers, Commander Holman was re-elected Commander, and S. M. French was re-appointed Adjutant and Quartermaster.

Upon nearing St. Louis, the parting campfire was held, as usual, with a general shake by all, each bidding farewell to each, all hoping to meet again next April.

CHAPTER X.

EIGHTH ANNUAL REUNION.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, April 2, 1913.

The Survivors Association congregated here again, with Commander Holman in charge. The starting gun was fired as we passed the Barracks and steamed down the Father of All Rivers. Many stops were made before morning, and the boat took on something like 2,000 sacks of corn for Tennessee River points. We turned into the Ohio about noon, and landed at Cairo, where we were again welcomed by the Mayor and many citizens. We passed Paducah before morning, taking Major Ashcraft aboard, and reached Forts Heiman and Henry about noon. The boat passed Pittsburg Landing during the night of the 6th and went on to Florence, Alabama, returning to Shiloh at breakfast time, April 6th, where we were again welcomed by Superintendent Dean and Major Reed. We marched up the bluff to music of fife and drum, where we had the usual devotional services and again registered. We spent the day inspecting the battlefield, and learned much more about the battle. Comrade L. W. Brannon, 6th Iowa, Fifth Division, of Princeton, Missouri, told us how he was standing guard at the Snake Creek bridge, where the Rebels cut him off from his regiment and compelled him to wade through mud and water up to his armpits before he could find his regiment. This was about 8 o'clock Sunday morning. William Connor, 21st Missouri, related how Colonel Moore, 21st Missouri, told us that when Colonel Moore, of his regiment, gave the order to charge at the Seay field, that Moore had just given the order when he was shot through the leg and had to be carried

off the field; and said how, if the order had been executed, none would have been left to tell what was done.

Comrade Bob Hunter, 28th Illinois, told how Lieutenant Colonel Kilpatrick was instantly killed while cheering on his men, and fell from his horse near the Bloody Pond and only a few yards distant, just as the 28th was withdrawing from the Peach Orchard after General Albert Sidney Johnston had fallen.

Comrade William Jessup, 5th Ohio Cavalry, of Cleves, Ohio, related how, on Friday before the battle, three companies of his regiment, while scouting on the Corinth road, ran into the main Confederate army, when they returned in haste and reported to General Sherman the presence of the whole Rebel Army, whereupon General Sherman replied: "Tut! tut! You militia are too easily scared. General Beauregard will never dare to attack me here."

Comrade Theron Gould, 40th Illinois Infantry, of Bible Grove, Illinois, told us how, at 8 a. m. Sunday, the Fifth Division, Army of the Tennessee, was hurried into position near Shiloh Church, where they were immediately assailed by two corps of the Confederate army and were soon driven from their position in utter rout, and how they were saved from total disorganization by the timely arrival of Colonel Veatch with the Second Brigade of General Hurlbut's Fourth Division.

Many other thrilling incidents were also related by eye witnesses. After supper, on Monday, the boat pulled out for return amidst the waving of handkerchiefs ashore and aboard, and we soon landed at Savannah, where Comrades visited the Cherry mansion, General Grant's headquarters during the battle, and where Generals C. F. Smith and W. H. L. Wallace both died.

Here the boat took on about 75 head of hogs for St. Louis. At the regular annual business meeting funds were con-

tributed to pay the necessary expenses of the last year, and the present officers were re-elected.

The steamer stopped nearly every mile in going through the great peanut belt, taking on some 3,000 sacks of peanuts, of three bushels each, and several thousand feet of oak lumber.

After turning up the Mississippi and passing Cape Girardeau, the final campfire was held, ending with a general shaking of hands and wishes for a safe return of all to their homes, to make ready for 1914.

CHAPTER XI.

NINTH ANNUAL REUNION.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, April 2, 1914.

The Survivors again met here aboard the steamer *en route* for the ninth Reunion, to be held at Pittsburg Landing on April 6-7, 1914. But Commander Holman and all the other officers of the Association were absent, necessitating the author's assuming command, by virtue of his being Commander of the Department of South Dakota. And, as such acting Commander, I appointed Comrade W. E. Waterbury, 15th Illinois, of Polo, Illinois, as acting Adjutant, and the Rev. J. W. Cummins, of East St. Louis, Illinois, was duly elected Chaplain. Bob Hunter, 28th Illinois, was duly appointed Chief of Artillery.

As may be seen hereafter, the selection of J. W. Cummins as Chaplain was very important, as he soon became an honorary member of our Association and has proven to be extremely useful.

We sailed from St. Louis at 5 p. m. on the 2nd, and Bob Hunter, our new Chief of Artillery, fired a salute as we passed Jefferson Barracks and the statue of General Lyon, who fell at Wilson's Creek, Missouri.

A glorious campfire was held after supper. We passed Cape Girardeau and Thebes during the night and Bird's Point in the morning, then turned up the clear waters of the Ohio, and landed at Cairo soon after breakfast, where we were greeted by the Chaplain, the Mayor of the city, and many others. Thereupon we were escorted from the boat to automobiles by Mrs. Halliday, on behalf of the Mayor, and taken up the Ohio to Mound City and back, and given a formal reception at the Halliday House, and served with a

fine lunch. We left Cairo at 1 p. m. on the 3rd, and arrived at Paducah before dark, where we were joined by Commissioner Ashcraft. We passed Forts Henry and Heiman next day, and reached Pittsburg Landing for breakfast on the 6th, where we were again received by Superintendent Dean and Major Reed. We marched up the bluff into the Cemetery to music of fife and drum, where, after prayer by Chaplain Cummins, with our bent forms and bare heads, we paid fitting devotion to Shiloh's fallen sainted heroes, and then reported to Superintendent Dean and Major Reed, where we again registered. We then spent the remainder of the day in inspecting the battlefield and gathering Minie balls and other curios of the battle. All returned to the boat for supper, and held a splendid campfire, when Miss Mary Clinton Johnson, daughter of Comrade Edward S. Johnson, 7th Illinois Infantry, Springfield, Illinois, was formally adopted as "The Daughter of the Association," she having done her utmost to entertain the Survivors on the entire trip. Her father is Custodian of the Lincoln Monument at Springfield, who entertains the notables of the world, from time to time, assisted by the smiles and graces of his daughter.⁷

The following Comrades were present at this Reunion:
Nicholas Mathias, 1st Missouri Light Artillery, Moberly, Mo.
David B. Hizer, 14th Iowa, Corning, Iowa.
Edward S. Johnson, Major, 7th Illinois, Springfield, Ill.
James H. Falling, 12th Michigan, Flint, Mich.
Joseph Ruff, 12th Michigan, Albion, Mich.
D. A. Sinsabaugh, 78th Ohio, Acorn, Mo.
T. G. Martin, 10th Illinois Infantry, Salem, Ill.
Robert Hunter, 28th Illinois, Pittsfield, Ill.
Harry Cline, 65th Ohio, Oak Grove, Mo.
R. S. Sprouse, 40th Illinois, La Clede, Ill.
W. T. Osborn, 12th Kansas Infantry, Waverly, Ill.

⁷Miss Mary Clinton Johnson proceeded to France soon after the outbreak of the World War, remaining till long after it closed, and contributed as best she could to alleviate the sufferings of our boys over the sea.

M. R. Ketchum, 12th Iowa Infantry, Clarion, Iowa.
Jonathan Edwards, 1st Nebraska Cavalry, Omaha, Neb.
J. B. Sinsabaugh, 97th Ohio Infantry, Louisville, Ohio.
William Dawson, 15th Ohio, Clarion, Iowa.
H. D. Dunningham, 32nd Illinois, Carlinville, Ill.
William Jessup, 5th Ohio Cavalry, Cleves, Ohio.
W. H. Shaw, 9th Indiana Infantry, Chicago, Ill.
Theron Gould, 40th Illinois, Bible Grove, Ill.
T. E. Swarts, 86th Illinois, Blockton, Iowa.
A. L. Spencer, 15th Iowa, Marshfield, Mo.
E. Penston, 73rd Illinois, Pittsfield, Ill.
Tilton Wilson, 111th Illinois, Pittsfield, Ill.
J. F. Cox, 4th Illinois Cavalry, Alpha, Ill.
Dr. O. B. Douglass, 18th Missouri, Concord, N. H.
William O'Connor, 21st Missouri, Carrollton, Ill.
L. W. Brannon, 6th Iowa, Princeton, Mo.
B. J. Gerdes, 15th Illinois Cavalry, East St. Louis, Ill.
Casper Dneker, Bible Grove, Ill.
M. V. Hoyle, 19th Ohio, Akron, Ohio.
Elias Perry, 18th Missouri, De Witt, Mo.
Henry Burrell, 15th Illinois, Freeport, Ill.
J. S. Carpenter, 32nd Illinois, Webb City, Mo.
Isaac Yantis, 41st Illinois, Findlay, Ill.
E. S. Waterbury, 15th Illinois, Polo, Ill.
J. T. Cook, 57th Illinois, Chicago, Ill.
James L. Babbitt, 50th Illinois, Avon, Ill.
J. H. Ashcraft, 26th Kentucky, Paducah, Ky.
W. F. Hinkle, 14th Indiana, Saltillo, Tenn.
J. E. Rossel, 41st Illinois, Eureka, Ill.
C. M. Lee, 40th Illinois, Alma, Ill.
John J. Hardin, 23rd Indiana, Pittsburg Landing, Tenn.
T. H. Briggs, 29th Missouri, Davis, Ill.
Harry White, 1st Missouri Infantry, Pittsfield, Ill.

And in addition thereto there are also 45 honorary members.

The next day was spent in substantially the same way till after supper, when the annual business meeting and election of officers for the ensuing year came on, together with collection of dues to pay expenses of last year.

At the annual business meeting and election and appointment of officers for the current year, the following Comrades were elected and appointed, to-wit:

Commander, John A. Dempster, Omaha, Neb.;

Senior Vice-Commander, Charles Barrett, 46th Illinois, Sioux Falls, S. D.;

Junior Vice-Commander, Henry L. Hadsell, Barry, Ill.;

Officer of the Day, D. M. Haverly, Omaha, Neb.;

Chaplain, Rev. J. W. Cummins, Cairo, Ill.

Unfortunately, the Commander-elect had never attended a single Reunion before this one, and did not even know the name of our Association; but, as he died before our next Reunion, it made very little difference.

Just before reaching St. Louis, a parting campfire and farewell meeting was held, and everyone seemed very much discouraged.

But Comrade Howard went on working to keep the Association up, and happily succeeded, as subsequent events demonstrated.

CHAPTER XII.

TENTH ANNUAL REUNION.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, April 2, 1915.

The Tenth Reunion of the Association convened at St. Louis on April 2, 1915, aboard the steamer provided by Capt. J. M. Massengale, and sailed promptly at 5 p. m., with booming of cannon as we passed Benton Barracks. We reached Cairo the next forenoon, where we were again welcomed by the Mayor and Mrs. Halliday, and escorted to automobiles, which took us to Mound City and return, when we were given a formal reception at the Halliday House (General Grant's headquarters). It is proper to remark in this connection that we are indebted for all these receptions at Cairo to Chaplain J. W. Cummins, for he is the one who worked them up.

We reached Paducah at midnight, where we were joined by Major Ashcraft. We passed Forts Henry and Heiman the next day, and arrived at Pittsburg Landing for breakfast on the morning of the 6th, where we were again welcomed by Superintendent Dean and Major Reed.

We marched up the hill into the Cemetery to stirring music of fife and drum, where Chaplain Cummins led in prayer, after which we proceeded to the offices of Superintendent Dean and Major Reed and registered.

Lest it be overlooked, it must be stated right here that Past Commander W. T. Holman never met with us again. His health had been failing for several years and he soon passed to his mansion in the skies. Splendid Comrade! Glorious Holman! We miss you now. We share with you our glory.

After tramping over the Battlefield till noon, we returned

to the boat for dinner. In the afternoon Chaplain Cummins favored us with a splendid address, which was highly appreciated by all.

Commander Holman had belonged to an older Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors, which had commenced holding its Reunions at Pittsburg Landing soon after the close of the Great War, long before our heroic dead were taken up and removed to the National Cemetery. He had visited the scenes of this deadly struggle with Sherman, Buell, Prentiss, and other high commanding officers; and had written and published in the *National Tribune*, Washington, D. C., a very interesting account of the deadliest great pitched battle of all time. The author is indebted much more to him than to any other one person for his fund of information about the struggle; and this is the reason that Holman has been so frequently cited heretofore. But, unfortunately, he closed his account of the battle on Sunday with the surrender of Prentiss and the fall of W. H. L. Wallace, whereas the decisive fighting came after that time.

In "The Story of a Common Soldier," Judge Leander Stillwell, of Erie, Kansas, says:

"It must have been when we were less than half a mile from the landing, on our disorderly retreat before mentioned, that we saw standing in line of battle, at order arms, extending from both sides of the road until lost in the woods, a long and well-ordered line of men in blue. What did that mean? Where had they come from?

"I was walking by the side of Enoch Wallace, orderly sergeant of my company, who was a man of nerve and courage, and by both word and deed had done more that day to hold us green and untried boys in rank and firmly to our duty than any other man in the company. But even he, in the face of this seemingly appalling state of things, had evidently lost heart. I said to him: 'Enoch, what are those men there for? He answered in a low tone: '*I guess they are put there to hold the Rebels in check till the army can get across the river.*' And doubtless that was the thought of every intelligent soldier in our beaten column; and this goes to show how little the

common soldier knows of the actual situation. We did not know that this line was the last line of battle of the 'Fighting Fourth Division' under General Hurlbut. * * * Speaking for myself, it was twenty years after the battle before I found these things out; yet they are true—just as much so as the fact that the sun rose yesterday morning.

"Well, we filed through Hurlbut's line, re-formed, and faced to the front once more. We were put in place a short distance in the rear of Hurlbut, as support for some heavy guns. It must have been about five o'clock. Suddenly, on the extreme left, and just a little above the landing, came a deafening explosion which fairly shook the ground beneath our feet, followed by others in quick and regular succession. The look of wonder and inquiry on the soldiers' faces was for a moment displaced by one of joy, as it flashed through our minds that the gunboats had at last joined hands in the dance and were pitching big twenty-pound Parrott shells up the ravine in front of Hurlbut, to the terror and discomfiture of our adversaries."

Yes, Judge, and this had all been pre-arranged by General Stephen A. Hurlbut, the Napoleon of Shiloh. And it was my regiment, the 28th Illinois Infantry, that you then and there filed through, while our boys were thus standing at order arms. But our regiment had then had more experience than yours, for we had taken part in the Battle of Belmont (Grant's first battle of the war), and also at Forts Heiman, Henry, and Donelson. Hence we ought to have known more about war than the younger regiments; and it is a glorious thing that we did, for otherwise Shiloh would have been another Bull Run.

The complete roster of all attending this Reunion follows:

T. Acklin, F, 48th Tennessee, C. S. A., Lawrenceburg, Tenn.

Major James H. Ashcraft, 26th Kentucky, Paducah, Ky.

George W. Budd, 5th Ohio Cavalry, Cincinnati, Ohio.

L. W. Brannon, 6th Iowa, Princeton, Mo.

H. H. Baltzell, E, 7th Illinois Infantry, Princeton, Mo.

Chas. T. Barnes, F, 40th New York, North State, Chicago, Ill.

C. W. Boyer, 53rd Ohio, Pittsburg Landing, Tenn.

- Dr. O. B. Crumpacker, D, 78th Ohio, Duncan Falls, Ohio.
Harry Cline, A, 54th Ohio, Oak Grove, Mo.
Louis J. Dale, G, 23rd Missouri, Mountain Grove, Mo.
F. O. Day, E, 56th Illinois, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Dr. William O. Ensign, 14th Ohio Battery, Rutland, Ill.
John Erwin, B, 48th Illinois, Louisville, Ill.
L. N. Fry, H, 186th Pennsylvania, Topeka, Kan.
S. M. French, 12th Iowa Infantry, 5518 Race Ave., Chicago.
C. W. Fuller, D, 9th Iowa, Cowles, Neb.
B. I. Gerdes, 15th Illinois Cavalry, 522 North 12th, East St. Louis, Ill.
C. C. Goodrich, I, 41st Illinois, National Military Home, Leavenworth, Kan.
Theron Gould, I, 40th Illinois, Bible Grove, Ill.
George M. Green, B, 2nd Illinois Light Artillery, Gilliam, Mo.
C. Gansert, Battery K, 1st Missouri Light Artillery, 1300 State, East St. Louis, Ill.
Robert Hunter, B, 28th Illinois, Pittsfield, Ill.
J. G. Heaps, I, 27th Illinois, Kewanee, Ill.
E. T. Holloway, 5th Ohio Infantry, Wing, Ill.
Lewis Holloway, 53rd Illinois, Wing, Ill.
James Hales, H, 43rd Ohio, 1431 Milburn, Toledo, Ohio.
Samuel M. Howard, H and A, 28th Illinois, Gettysburg, S. D.
William F. Hinkle, K, 44th Indiana, Saltillo, Tenn.
R. O. Harris, B, 4th Alabama Infantry, Pienza, Miss.
Daniel Jones, C, 56th Ohio, Venedocia, Ohio.
G. W. Ludwig, 58th Ohio, Garden City, Mo.
I. H. Mallick, K, 46th Ohio, Van Wert, Ohio.
Nicholas Mathias, K, 1st Missouri Light Artillery, Moberly, Mo.
Joseph Mason, E, 48th Illinois, Cave in Rock, Ill.
L. M. North, B, 71st Ohio, Buffalo, Ind.

CHAPTER XIII.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL REUNION.

Yantis' Administration.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, April 2, 1916.

Upon assembling aboard our steamer in St. Louis, April 2, 1916, we were confronted with a vacancy in the office of our Commander. Hence it was decided to hold an election forthwith for Commander, which resulted in the election of our Senior Vice-Commander, Isaac Yantis, 41st Illinois Infantry, of Findlay, Illinois, and he was installed as Commander without delay.

At 5 p. m. the staging was hauled up and we were soon steaming down the river. On passing the statue of General Lyon at Benton Barracks, Bob Hunter fired a salute in memory of General Lyon, the savior of Missouri. At 6 o'clock we had a fine supper, followed by a campfire, directed by Commander Yantis, after which all retired to their staterooms. We passed Thebes during the night, where the 28th Illinois Infantry had its first camp after leaving Camp Butler for the front in August, 1861, and Bird's Point, Missouri, where we had our second camp, next morning, then rounded by Fort Holt, Kentucky, where the 28th Illinois was encamped during the winter of '61-62, and arrived at Cairo before noon, where we were welcomed by Chaplain Cummins and a committee consisting of the Mayor of Cairo, Mrs. Parsons, Mrs. Halliday, and Mrs. Stubbins, and escorted in automobiles to Mound City, the National Cemetery, and then back to Cairo, where we were given a fine lunch at the residence of the Honorable Mr. Parsons. Thereupon, we were escorted back to the boat, where we bade farewell to the city and sailed, ar-

riding at Paducah some three or four hours afterward, where we were joined by Major Ashcraft, of the 26th Kentucky, and other Comrades.

We stopped at Fort Henry and Johnsonville, where we were joined by General Duke, of the Shiloh National Military Park Commission, and arrived at Pittsburg Landing for breakfast on the morning of the 6th, where we were welcomed by Superintendents Dean and Reed and escorted up the bluff to the National Cemetery, where exercises were opened with prayer by the Chaplain near the flagstaff. Following this, each Comrade sought the graves of the fallen heroes of his regiment, paying dutiful respect thereto, and then proceeded to the office of Major Reed, where the Comrades registered as follows:

Major J. H. Ashcraft, 26th Kentucky, Paducah, Ky.

John M. Baker, 25th Indiana, Stewartsville, Ind.

J. N. Barrett, 25th Indiana, Kansas City, Mo.

J. L. Babbitt, 50th Illinois, Avon, Ill.

Simeon Bundy, 41st Illinois, Bruce, Ill.

C. W. Baker, 53rd Ohio, Pittsburg Landing, Tenn.

Harrison Cline, 54th Ohio, Oak Grove, Mo.

Selden M. French, 12th Iowa, 5518 Race Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Henry George, 7th Kentucky, Pewee Valley, Ky.

Theron Gould, 40th Illinois, Bible Grove, Ill.

J. T. Heath, 8th Iowa, Urbana, Iowa.

M. W. Hoyer, 19th Ohio, Akron, Ohio.

Samuel M. Howard, 28th Illinois, Gettysburg, S. D.

John J. Hardin, 32nd Indiana, Pittsburg Landing, Tenn.

Robert Hunter, 28th Illinois, Pittsfield, Ill.

A. K. Ketchum, 12th Iowa, Clarion, Iowa.

George Meuney, 2nd Iowa, Sheldon, Iowa.

John McLean, 40th Illinois, 623 East 112th, Chicago, Ill.

William O'Connor, 21st Missouri, Harrison, Ill.

R. E. Osborn, 14th Wisconsin, Minneapolis, Mo.

Ed. Penstone, 73rd Illinois, Pittsfield, Ill.

M. M. Potter, 55th Illinois, 2458 Winona, Chicago, Ill.
Major D. W. Reed, 12th Iowa, Pittsburg Landing, Tenn.
W. H. Shaw, 19th Ohio, Hubbard Woods, Ill.
William Sheerer, 12th Illinois, Galena, Ill.
Frank Shultz, 58th Illinois, 1021 South Jefferson, Chicago, Ill.
C. M. See, 40th Illinois, Alma, Ill.
George Tretheway, 25th Indiana, Stewartsville, Ind.
E. S. Waterbury, 15th Illinois, Polo, Ill.
Harry White, 1st Missouri, Pittsfield, Ill.
George P. Washburn, 21st Missouri, Ottawa, Kan.
Isaac Yantis, 41st Illinois, Findlay, Ill.

Honorary Members.

Rev. J. W. Cummins, Chaplain, Cairo, Ill.
Rev. J. B. Cummins, Greenville, Ill.
Mrs. J. W. Cummins, Cairo, Ill.

At the annual business meeting of the Association held at Pittsburg Landing on the 7th, the following named officers were elected, appointed, and installed for the current year:

Commander, Selden M. French, 12th Iowa, Chicago, Ill.;

Senior Vice-Commander, George P. Washburn, 21st Missouri, Ottawa, Kan.;

Junior Vice-Commander, Henry L. Hadsell, 28th Illinois, Barry, Ill.;

Adjutant and Quartermaster, E. S. Waterbury, 15th Illinois, Polo, Ill.;

Chaplain, Rev. J. W. Cummins, Cairo, Ill.;

Chief of Artillery, Robert Hunter, 28th Illinois, Pittsfield, Ill.

Just before reaching St. Louis, the final campfire was held, and all were highly elated at the complete success of Commander Yantis' administration, and expressed the determination to come again next year.

CHAPTER XIV.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REUNION.

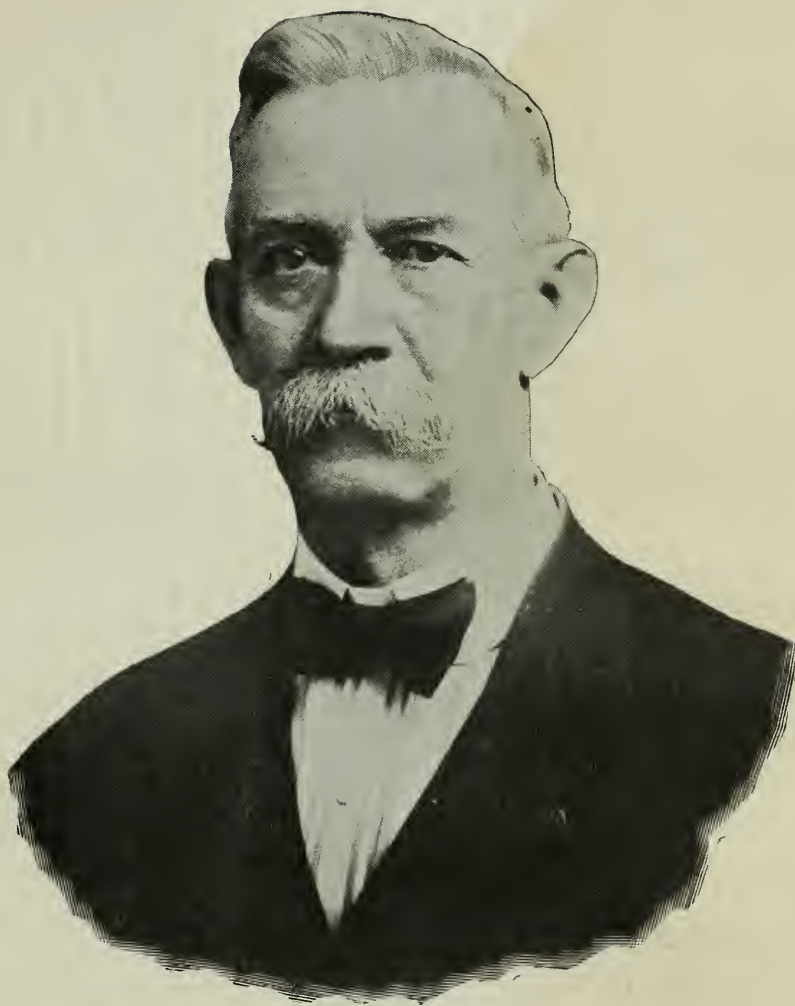
French's Administration.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, April 2, 1917.

Commander French and many Survivors assembled aboard the fine steamer *St. Louis*, furnished by Captain John E. Massengale, *en route* to the twelfth annual Reunion, to be held at Pittsburg Landing.

At 5 p. m. the *St. Louis* hoisted her gangway and headed down the Father of Waters. When passing the statue of General Lyon at Benton Barracks, Bob Hunter fired a salute for the hero of Wilson's Creek. We passed under the great steel bridge which now spans the river at Thebes that night, where the 28th Illinois Infantry had their first camp after leaving Springfield, and arrived at Cairo before noon, where we were met on the boat by the Mayor of Cairo, Chaplain Cummins, Mrs. Parsons and Mrs. Halliday, and many other citizens, and taken on a tour through the principal streets and parks of Cairo, terminating at the Halliday House (the old St. Charles, Grant's headquarters), where all Veterans and friends were given a splendid banquet through the generosity of the Honorable George Parsons and wife and Mrs. Stubbins, wife of the landlord, who presented each Veteran with a beautiful carnation, and also a card addressed as follows: "Compliments of a Comrade's Daughter, Mrs. E. J. Stubbins, Halliday Hotel, April 3rd, 1917, Cairo, Illinois."

Mr. C. S. Britton, Chairman of the Entertainment Committee, presided as toastmaster and favored us with a touching address of welcome, followed by M. J. Howley and Mayor Wood, when the main reception address was most eloquently



COMMANDER GEORGE P. WASHBURN.

delivered by the Rev. Dr. A. M. Ellis, of the Presbyterian Church of Cairo, as follows:

“Veterans of Shiloh:

“It would be out of place for me to attempt to draw particular lessons from the Battlefield you contemplate visiting; for you know more than tongue can tell. If such lessons are needed, your Chaplain can respond to this great task amid the very scenes you have made historic. But to-day I simply wish to add my welcome to that of our Mayor and suggest a few lessons from that great conflict of which you constitute a notable part.

“We welcome you on your trip southward, and bespeak for you a safe journey and pleasant experiences. We are glad that you are going once more, which will the more strongly cement the Union for which you struggled; and we salute you on your patriotic mission.

“Your visit commemorates the important fact that a question is never settled till it is settled right.

“Shiloh demonstrated that the American soldier would fight. The North had thought the South could not fight, and the South thought the North would not fight. At Shiloh all found out that both were mistaken. With no fort, no trench, but with an open field, and what the Irishman called ‘beautiful fighting,’ you stood face to face and fought it out through two bloody days.

“Before the war began, one of the furious leaders of the South declared there would be no war, and that if there was, they could whip the North with popguns. After the war this same man, while addressing an audience, was interrupted by an old maimed soldier: “Say, Judge, ain’t you the same man who said we could whip the Yanks with popguns?” “Yes, sir; but, confound them! they would not fight in that way.”

“Shiloh demonstrated you would fight. It was the first

real battle of the Civil War. It was one of the bloodiest battles of any war.

“In Europe, to-day, men shoot at holes in the ground. At Shiloh you fought the man directly in front of you, while he was doing the same. It was a desperate fight. A comparison of figures will show whether or not this is boasting. At the great battle of Masséna, where the French defeated the Russians, the loss was 8 per cent of those engaged; at Marengo, where Napoleon won a decisive victory over Austria, the loss was only 4 per cent; at Austerlitz, 10 per cent; at Antietam, 29 per cent; while at Shiloh, where *you* fought, and where your Comrades are now sleeping in this Cemetery, *you* lost 30 per cent of all engaged; and you may certainly be thankful that you came out alive, and that, after more than half a century, you are now here to pay dutiful respect to your fallen brothers.

“Shiloh was not only a desperate and bloody conflict, but it was a pivotal battle. If Albert Sidney Johnston had not been killed on this battlefield, and had been successful and pushed on northward, many from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Illinois would have flocked to the standard of the Stars and Bars. Indeed, the whole results might have been different from what they are if the South had won at Shiloh. At any rate, it would have taken many years and a multitude of men to have regained the lost ground. You fought better than you knew. It often happens that the result of our doing is much larger than we had any conception of at the time of the action. When Christopher Columbus turned the prow of his vessels across the untraveled waters of the Atlantic, did he have any dream of the vast country he was to discover? He did not. When our Revolutionary fathers fought the king's soldiers wading in their own blood, did they know of the great thing they were doing? Certainly they did not. When the writers of the Declaration of Independence and the framers of the Constitution gave us these immortal docu-

ments, do you think they realized the full import of their mighty tasks? No, indeed. And when on Sunday and Monday in that April of '62 you stood shoulder to shoulder with your Comrades and fought out this battle here over these 3,000 acres constituting this beautiful park, you were not dreaming you were fighting the pivotal battle of all the war. At that time you did not know that, because your valor won the day, if you did not save the Union, at any rate you made it easier to save it. All hail the Veterans of Shiloh! Peace to the memory of those sleeping here! They did not live to know the great things they did; but we know them, and revere their memory.

"And you fought brave men, men who believed they were right, believed it in the same sense that you believed you were right. They were mistaken, and see it now, but absolutely believed in the righteousness of their cause, and were willing to fight and, if necessary, to die for it. We honor them for their bravery. We also honor them for accepting the results and making good citizens of this great country. The war is over, and oh for the time when all war shall end!

"It may be that I dream a dream; it may be that I saw
The forests of all time to come by some supernatural law.
I seemed to dwell in this same world, and in the modern time,
Yet nowhere was there sight or sound of poverty or crime.
All strife had ceased; men were disarmed; and quiet peace had
made
A thousand avenues for toil, in place of War's grim trade.
From east to west, from north to south, where highways smooth
and broad
Tied State to State, the waste lands bloomed like garden-spots of
God.'

"We are not foemen, but friends; we are brothers; we are not haters of the South, we are lovers. Our country is one country, with one flag, one aim, one hope, with one God and Father of us all, and ultimately one home in heaven, where all war and strife will end forever.

“We share our mutual woes,
Our mutual burdens bear,
And often for each other flows
The sympathizing tear.

“This glorious hope revives
Our courage by the way;
While each in expectation lives,
And longs to see the day.’

“Veterans of Shiloh, Cairo salutes you and thanks you for your coming. This occasion is for you. The rustling of flags, the melody of music, the meed of praise, constitutes our tribute to the history you have made.

“To-day, while our President is sounding the note of war, and the whole Nation is on the verge of expectancy, we face the future with confidence. You have taught us how to solve the most difficult problems; you have shown us how to preserve the welfare of the Nation; and you have instructed us that self-sacrifice is immortal.

“Just as a McGregor stands upon his native heath and looks with pride upon the heights of Ben Lomond, so to-day we look upon the flag you have so gloriously vindicated and exclaim with Webster, ‘Thank God I am an American!’”

Commander S. M. French, of Chicago, responded in well-chosen words, thanking the people of Cairo and Mrs. George Parsons for their hospitality and returning sincere thanks for all Shiloh Veterans present, and then a motion was entertained for a rising vote of thanks; while still standing, the Veterans gave three cheers for Cairo and the hospitality shown.

Commander French then called on Judge Samuel M. Howard, 28th Illinois Infantry, of Gettysburg, South Dakota, to deliver in full the thanks of the Association to Cairo and her citizens. Mr. Howard responded as follows:

“Mr. Chairman, Comrades, Ladies of the Women’s Relief Corps’ and Fellow-Citizens:

“On behalf of the National Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors, it again becomes a pleasing duty to return our sincere thanks to the patriotic people of this city for this splendid welcome and formal reception on this occasion, while we are on our way to attend the fifty-fifth anniversary of the deadliest pitched battle of all time. And we do this with full knowledge that this splendid reception is not intended as a compliment to either of us individually, but that, on the exact contrary, it is thus done for the glorious purpose of a public manifestation of the patriotism of the people of this splendid city of the great Republic. And while doing this, we wish you fully to understand that, so far as we are personally concerned, it can make little difference to either, for we fully realize that the shadows of swiftly approaching sunset are now fearfully long, and that but little time remains for either of us to profit by the generosity of your city.

“But let me assure you once for all that, by thus honoring us on this occasion, you thereby set a patriotic example for your children and their descendants to follow onward with lasting benefit to themselves as long as the glorious Stars and Stripes shall float over land and sea.

“Mr. Chairman, it is well on this occasion to recall the vast importance of the location of your city to the Union cause in the dark days of the sixties. All of us should take manly pride in rehearsing it, time after time, to the coming generations; for, as an absolute matter of fact, in all America there was no other location which produced results of so vast importance to the Union cause.

“Let me recall as briefly as possible a few of these important facts. On Monday, April 15, 1861, Major Anderson evacuated Fort Sumter, Charleston Harbor, and the greatest of all American wars was on. On Tuesday of the following week the great side-wheel steamboats *Hillman* and *Perry*

sailed from St. Louis, loaded down with ammunition and guns for the Confederacy. On the very next day these two big steamboats, thus loaded with guns and ammunition, were forcibly seized right here in Cairo by Colonel B. M. Prentiss, then commanding the post here, and all their guns and ammunition were confiscated by order from Governor Richard Yates, the war governor of your State. And bear well in mind that this was performed right here in Cairo in open violation of the law, for free and unlimited intercourse between the North and South was never interdicted till the 7th day of the following May. But this unlawful seizure was afterward approved by Congress, and the guns and ammunition were promptly appropriated by Colonel Prentiss for arming and supplying the first Union troops which arrived here. And bear in mind that this was the very first confiscation in the Great War. As a reward therefor, Colonel Prentiss was soon promoted to brigadier general and commanded the Sixth Division, Army of the Tennessee, in the Battle of Shiloh.

“But perhaps Monday, the 9th day of September, 1861, was the most memorable of all for Cairo; for this was the day the 28th Illinois Infantry, on the fine steamboat *Alec Scott*, escorted General Grant to Cairo, and he immediately established his headquarters here in the St. Charles Hotel, and then commanded the District of Southeast Missouri. Bear in mind, it was right here in Cairo where General Grant first mounted the ladder of fame, and he never ceased to climb upward till he had reached the topmost rung, where he gazed with wonder on all the world beneath.

“Bear well in mind, it was from Cairo that General Grant planned and fought the Battle of Belmont, only 25 miles below your city, his first battle of the war. It was from Cairo that he planned, fought, and captured Forts Heiman, Henry, and Donelson, and captured at the latter fort more than 14,000 prisoners of war, together with all their great guns and ammunition, when and where he won the title of

'Unconditional Surrender' Grant, corresponding with the initial letters of his name, which followed him onward through his whole military career.

"It was from Cairo, and in the month of February, 1862, that he thus tore asunder the first line of defense of the enemy, which commenced at Columbus, circled by Memphis, and then ran eastward through Forts Heiman, Henry, and Donelson to Bowling Green, Kentucky, and then onward to Virginia.

"It was from your city that General Grant organized the grand Army of the Tennessee, which never knew defeat or turned its back to the foe, and this was the only army, east or west, north or south, which never turned its back to the foe and never encountered defeat throughout all the Great War.

"It was through inspiration received here in Cairo that General Grant hurried onward from Fort Henry to Savannah, and then to Pittsburg Landing, where, on Sunday and Monday, April 6-7, 1862, he fought and won the deadliest great pitched battle known to history since the morning stars first sang together.

"It was at Shiloh, through inspiration received right here, that General Grant overthrew the boastful chivalry of the cotton States with the sterling manhood of loyalty, after which Secession never smiled again.

"It was because of the success begun and generalship learned here in Cairo that General Grant thus severed the second and last line of defense of the enemy, that he swept onward in the great Vicksburg campaign, during which, with Sherman and McPherson, Hurlbut, and McClernand, he killed and wounded more than 40,000 Confederates, or 7,000 more than the entire Union and Confederate loss in killed and wounded in the great Battle of Gettysburg.

"Bear well in mind, it was from Cairo that the Father of All Rivers was opened clear through to the Gulf of Mexico, with the grand assistance of Flag Officer Foote and Com-

mander Porter, resulting in the capture of Forts Morgan and Gaines, Mobile Bay, and the city of Mobile, the very last seaport city to haul down forever the Stars and Bars.

"And when his work was thus gloriously completed in the whole Mississippi Valley, Grant and Sherman and McPherson and Logan hastened back to Cairo and onward to Chattanooga, for the relief of our starving comrades at Chattanooga under Rosecrans, where, soon after another great Union victory, Grant and Sherman finally parted, the former hastening east and assuming personal command of the Army of the Potomac, while the latter moved onward from Chattanooga to Atlanta, and 'from Atlanta to the Sea, 60 miles in latitude, 300 to the main,' thereafter heralded, both in song and prose, in every land of every clime, and by every race and every tongue the world around, from then to this very hour.

"In the meantime, General Grant assumed personal command of all the armies of the East, which always had proven failures, breathed into them the breath of life, chased Lee from Rapidan to Richmond, and from Richmond nearly to the bayonets of Sherman near Appomattox, when and where the whole wicked Rebellion collapsed with the flight of Jefferson Davis in disguise of his wife on April 9, 1865, and all by the man who thus began his most wonderful career right here in Cairo.

"Mr. Commander, from this brief synopsis it may readily be seen the patriotic people of your city have unbounded reason to be proud of their career in the Great War; and that they are fully justified in honoring to-day a few of the same comrades they welcomed here in '61-5, but under vastly different circumstances from those of to-day; for then it was neighbor against neighbor, friend against friend, brother against brother, and even father against son; while to-day all are one united and happy people under the Stars and Stripes, the glorious emblem of the free the world around, and the

only land in all this world of ours which is tethered with neither a king, an established church, a serf, a servant, or a slave.

“Mr. Commander, in conclusion, let me say to the good people of Cairo that, just as the waters of this Father of All Rivers ripple from the limpid springs of the distant Rockies and course onward around towering hills, through lowly and verdant plains, and over countless shoals of treacherous rocks and reefs, with all their shipwrecked hopes of other days, glide by your city and speed onward to deliver the gladsome greetings of the mountains to the sea, so likewise will they continue to deliver the gladsome greetings of Cairo to all this world of ours for all time to come, never to be polluted by another foe.”

CHAPTER XV.

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

By Chaplain J. W. Cummins.

"Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it."—*Psalms 127:1.*

And that is true of man and nation. We do well to remember it; and woe betide us if we forget it.

Most of the ills visited on our house, whether it be in country or city or nation, come because we have tried to build, forgetful of the fundamental that unless God has some part in it, we labor in vain.

Here, this Sabbath afternoon, by this Cemetery, where for half a century have slept your comrades-in-arms, also with the whole world spread out before us, I call you to note that whenever we march with God Almighty we march to victory, and that without Him we plunge to defeat.

Exactly two years ago this day, when the President of the United States had declared that a state of war existed between us and the Imperial German Government, a telegram went forward from here offering your services in any capacity in which you could be used.

One year ago to-day, when we had once more returned to Shiloh, the great spring drive of the Germans was on full tilt, and they were then smashing their way, apparently almost unhindered, toward their objective. Final victory seemed almost within their bloody reach. France was bled till white, as the expression went; England was fighting with her back to the wall; and it looked like no power could withstand the sweep of the Hun. And then we were called to prayer. All

over this land bells were rung, whistles sounded, and the people paused to pray.

Then came the American army, like a horizontal thunderbolt, meeting the onward rush of the German hordes; and the enemy halted, wavered, fell back, and began his retreat which ended in victory and the armistice.

And thus it proved true that, "Unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it."

About 700 years ago there came out of the forests of Brandenburg a robber count of the house of Hohenzollern. The very first time that name is set down in history, as far as my reading goes, was in 1273—more than 200 years before the time our friend Christopher Columbus began his travels across the unknown waters of the wide Atlantic. This date, 1273, is the end of the period which began in 1254, known in German history as "the evil time," when there was no emperor. Rudolph was nominated and was supported by Frederick of Hohenzollern; and it is here that this name walks into the pages of history. About 200 years later, one of the rulers of that country, Sigismund by name, finding himself under the necessity of borrowing funds, was accommodated by Frederick of Hohenzollern, a direct descendant of the one whose name he bore. Frederick took a mortgage on Brandenburg, and immediately moved to the property and took possession of it. So great was the ability displayed by him, so marked his success in subduing the bandit knights, that Sigismund offered him the absolute sovereignty of Brandenburg.

Well, Frederick had it anyway. He stole his throne, to begin with; and from that far-away day to only the other day, when the Kaiser signed his abdication, there has not lacked one from the house of Hohenzollern to sit upon that throne.

Is it much to be wondered at that the recently deposed Kaiser felt so cocky? He was fed up on it. In 1890, in a speech to his Brandenburgers, he said: "It is a tradition of

our house that we, the Hohenzollerns, regard ourselves as appointed by God to lead and govern the people. I look upon the people and nations handed to me as a responsibility handed me by God; and that it is, as written in the Bible, my duty to increase this heritage."

When Napoleon swept across Europe like a devastating cyclone, he mixed with this house, and is reported to have said that one of the blunders of his life was that he did not remove the Hohenzollerns altogether.

Occasionally during the war I saw statements to the effect that the Kaiser was crazy. Far from it. He is one of the brainiest and most versatile men who ever trod this globe. Look at the advance the German people made under him. The great newspaper clipping bureau in London, before the war, is responsible for the statement that the Kaiser was the most-talked-about ruler in the world, and that there were two clippings about Emperor William to one about any other ruler. His versatility is indicated by speeches filling ten volumes, and on every conceivable subject. He writes as the soldier, sailor, theologian, philosopher, dramatist, banker, and railroad man. He discusses music, painting, sculpture, archæology, architecture, and makes occasional excursions to "heaven and hell." He is one of the world's best equipped men.

But his dream is now turned to a nightmare, and his name and fame will rot, and ought to, because he "did not build his house with the Lord God Almighty." He talked of "Me und Gott," but it was "as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal."

Some years ago he wrote these words: "From childhood I have been under the influence of these five men: Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Theodoric, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon." Each of these was a bloodthirsty villain. Had this ruler held fast for the Man of Galilee, how different the world would now

be! But he was like a spider in the middle of his web, planning for the life-blood of his victims.

While the rest of the world was busy about commerce, education, and religion, William was preparing for plunder. Spies went everywhere, so that the strength of other countries, commercial, industrial, and military, was better known in Germany than at home.

At an eastern Chautauqua, before we ever got into the war, I heard a lecturer deliver an address on "The Great Men I Have Met," and, among others, he told of Prince Henry, brother to the Kaiser, who came to this country and traveled about incognito, with this gentleman as his guide. He did not, even at the time of giving this lecture, suspect that Henry was then spying out this land.

Just before the war opened in 1914, there came to the city where I was then pastor an educated and refined gentleman, hailing, as he said, from Switzerland, with his German wife, and they joined our church. He was a splendid musician and was soon in our choir. After the war opened, he went away, but left his wife in our city. After a while I received a card from him, written in Zurich, Switzerland; and a month afterward another, written in Rotterdam, Holland. And by and by he returned to the United States and to this Illinois town; and then, with his wife, he dropped out of sight, and no further word was heard from them till the news came that both had been apprehended as German spies. Bishop Cooke, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, told the Conference at Monett, Missouri, that every bridge, road, railroad, stump, tree, and everything else of importance in this country was better known in Germany than here.

Here is where the Kaiser fully expected to win, for he did expect it, as he said when speaking of the five men under whose influence he had been all his life, that "they dreamed of a world empire, but failed; but I am dreaming a dream of German world empire, and my mailed fist must succeed."

He knew the Russian Government was honeycombed with traitors and spies, and that, while it seemed powerful in a military way, he knew it was undermined with corruption and badly equipped. In France the premier was plotting with her enemies, and there was a wonderful lack of both guns and ammunition. In England were the Irish question and the woman's suffrage question, both of which loomed up big and threatening; moreover, England had but a contemptible little army. Italy was the ally of Germany, and its leading banks and industries were financed by German capital. America was thousands of miles away, and here were the brewers and the German-American societies, whose aim it was to keep alive the German language and sentiment; and the Kaiser confidently expected an uprising in this country amounting to civil war. And so it was that, in the mind of the royal criminal, the stage was set for a speedy victory.

In a hotel where I was stopping, one day during the war, I overheard some men saying that Theodore Roosevelt put it into the head of the Kaiser to bring on a world war; that, with the Kaiser, Mr. Roosevelt had reviewed some of the crack German troops; and that our ex-President had slapped the German ruler on the back, saying: "Bill, with such an army you could whip the world."

It may be that Mr. Roosevelt said that—I do not know. But he did not put the notion into the arch fiend's head, for it was there already, and had been for years upon years; and he was waiting only for the proper moment to begin. The day finally came and the magnificent army was to sweep down through Belgium like wolves among sheep, or destroying angels, crush Paris and capture France, take the ports of the English Channel, sew up England, whip Russia outright, and return home with such loot and wealth as never before entered into the dreams of the wildest imagination. After a little breathing-spell, America, rich and defenseless, would

fall an easy prey, and the house of Hohenzollern would reign

“where’er the sun
Does his successive journeys run.”

Now, looking back across the dreadful years of blood and rapine, actually it seems a miracle that the fell purpose of the royal murderer did not succeed. What an army! what guns! what implements of death! what cruelty! what naked savagery! what unheard-of barbarism! To what point was the art of killing, burning, looting, and general deviltry perfected! Deadly gas, creeping U-boats, flying-machines attacking defenseless cities and murdering non-combatants.

The pestilence which walked in darkness and the destruction which wasted at noonday seemed turned loose on the unsuspecting world. The very powers of darkness seemed in league with the Huns against both liberty and civilization.

Why did he not succeed? The answer is at hand: He did not succeed because of the Lord God Almighty. That’s why. “Unless the Lord build the house,” it’s a delusion and a snare.

A good many years ago, in the Senate of the United States, Patrick Henry declared: “There is a just God, Who presides over the destiny of nations.” Even so.

After the Kaiser had addressed his troops and had told them they would be back in Berlin by Christmas, they began their vainglorious and criminal march through Belgium. But Belgium stood up and fought—fought till France could draw the sword and England could get her army together. Then, with plundering and looting, burning and murdering, this army of cut-throats made its way toward Paris, and by September was almost within shooting distance of that city. The first battle of the Marne was fought, and the German hordes were turned back, exactly why nobody seems to know. And now, month after month, comes the tug of war—first on the western front, now in Russia, then in Egypt and the

Holy Land, war, war, war, always war; but, of course, we are secure, and our sons will never go into it. The general feeling in this country was opposed to war. Here and there, it is true, a vigorous voice was raised in favor of the United States going in, but for one voice raised in favor thereof, many were against it; but, for the most part, we felt that, if there was any fighting to do by us, we would do nothing more than defend our own shores.

But, one after another, our vessels were sunk; and, first and last, many notes were written.

The inevitable finally came, and war was declared. Now we were in it to mobilize all our resources to win.

In the meantime, Russia is out of it, Italy is all but conquered, England is fighting with her back to the wall, France is nearly frazzled out, and a call comes across the sea, "For heaven's sake, hurry up!"

The 21st of March sees the great spring drive of the Germans begin. The long-range guns fire into Paris. The Allies are steadily pushed back. Every morning and every evening our papers tell of strategic falling back, while in Germany they were laughing with glee over the killed and captured.

But, finally, America arrives. And as the retreating French fall back, the answer was: "No! My men would not understand such an order. I am going to flank the enemy with a counter-attack." And those American boys, fresh from field and shop, went on against the trained German troops. The retreating French said to them: "Do not go any farther; you will be slaughtered." And the answer was shouted back: "We are here to do the slaughtering ourselves."

The tide was turned back upon the deep. The famous Hindenburg line was cracked and severed, and soon broken into flinders. The Germans began a hasty retreat, the Kaiser lit out for Holland, the war was won, and the armistice signed.

And here is the big, big lesson: No man, no nation, can

successfully deny Almighty God. God still rules this world. Others have tried it, but all have failed. It can not be done. Many times in history plans have been laid with care, with no loophole left for failure. But God took a hand, unlooked-for contingencies arose, and the best-laid plans went aglee. God can not be ignored. He punishes nations as well as individuals for their sins. Bear this in mind, O America!

Jesus Christ is the rightful ruler of this whole universe, and His dominion will never end. Every nation which assists Him will prosper, and in the end all others will be ground into fine dust, as Nineveh and Babylon, and every individual who gets in His way will be brushed aside, and all who join hands with Him in high and holy enterprise will be honored here and shine hereafter in the diadem of God.

Verily, "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it."

CHAPTER XVI.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL REUNION.

Commander Washburn and staff and many Survivors met on board the fine steamer *St. Louis* at foot of Pine Street, St. Louis, on April 1, 1918, and renewed acquaintance again, and all were given a formal reception and banquet at the Hotel Statler by the Reception Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, by the chairman thereof, the Honorable James R. Dunn.

After the banquet, all Survivors and friends were taken in autos all around the principal parks and boulevards of the city and back to the boat, where we were formally welcomed by Senator Spencer on behalf of the Mayor; to which welcome S. M. Howard, 28th Illinois Infantry, Gettysburg, South Dakota, briefly responded.

At 5 p. m. the gangway was hauled in, Bob Hunter fired a salute, the steamer swung around and started on the long trip down the Father of Rivers. Another gun was fired as we passed the statue of General Lyon, the martyr of Wilson's Creek.

We reached Cairo next day at 10 a. m., where we were given a formal reception by the Mayor, Mrs. Parsons and Mrs. Halliday, and many others, and given a nice luncheon at the Halliday Hotel, General Grant's headquarters when in Cairo. We sailed about 2 p. m. for Paducah, where we were joined by other Comrades.

Passed Forts Henry and Heiman next day and reached Pittsburg Landing for breakfast on the 6th, where we were welcomed by George P. Dean, Major De Long Rice, and many others. Marched up the bluff to music of fife and drum to the flagstaff, where services opened with prayer by the

Chaplain. After conclusion of services, we proceeded to the offices of Dean and Rice and registered. Two days were spent in sightseeing and gathering relics of the battle.

At the business meeting on the 7th the present officers were all re-elected and installed, and we started back for St. Louis at 5 p. m. on the 7th, and arrived at St. Louis on time.

The list of attendants is substantially the same as last year, and hence is omitted.

CHAPTER XVII.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REUNION.

The following is the official report of the fourteenth annual Reunion of the Battle of Shiloh Association, held on the Battlefield at Pittsburg Landing, April 6-7, 1919.

Survivors and friends to the number of 96 met aboard the steamer *Kentucky* at the foot of Pine Street, St. Louis, April 2d. The city of St. Louis, through its Reception Committee, the Honorable James R. Dunn chairman, invited all attending the Reunion to a formal reception and reunion and luncheon at the Statler Hotel, Ninth and Washington, and our party assembled in the parlors of this hotel at noon. Those unable to walk were supplied with automobiles by Mr. Dunn on behalf of the Committee. At 12:15 we were escorted to the ballroom of the Hotel, a commodious and elegantly decorated hall, where plates were set for 300 guests and a gorgeous luncheon served. The Honorable Lee Merriwether, just returned from France, where he had served as special assistant to our ambassador, was the principal speaker for the Committee in welcoming our Association to St. Louis. Other speakers were the Reverend W. H. King, the Honorable Leo Rosseur, Past Commander-in-chief of the G. A. R., Colonel J. T. Donovan, of the United Confederate Veterans, and Commander Washburn. The exercises lasted till 2 p. m., when our entire party was escorted to automobiles, which were led by three uniformed guides mounted on motorcycles over beautiful boulevards and through charming parks, finally rounding up at our boat, at the foot of Pine Street, where the military band from Jefferson Barracks and the G. A. R. and other patriotic associations greeted us. Here a very patriotic address of welcome to St. Louis, on behalf of the Mayor, was

delivered by U. S. Senator Spencer, which was responded to by Judge Samuel M. Howard, 28th Illinois Infantry, of Gettysburg, South Dakota, as follows:

ADDRESS OF SAMUEL M. HOWARD.

Mr. Chairman and Comrades, Ladies and Gentlemen:

On behalf of our National Association of Survivors of the Battle of Shiloh, it is a pleasure to return the thanks of our Association to this Chamber of Commerce for this patriotic reception on behalf of the good people of the city of St. Louis. But in doing this, Mr. Chairman, we wish you to bear in mind that this grand welcome and reception is of no pecuniary benefit to either of us, for all survivors of Shiloh, at this very moment, are living on borrowed time, and all of us have entered that mystical halo which always pervades the sunset of advanced life. No, sir, no! According to all the laws of longevity, our days and deeds will soon be numbered with the oblivion of the boundless past. And yet, while this generous hospitality can be of no pecuniary benefit to us, it will surely eventuate in substantial benefit to this Chamber and the good people of St. Louis, for by so doing you proclaim to all this world of ours a grand and glorious spirit of patriotism, to inspire your children, your children's children, and their descendants, just as long as this monarch of rivers, flowing by your happy homes, shall hasten onward the gladsome greetings of the mountains to the sea.

In the month of August, 1861, nearly fifty-six years ago, the 28th Illinois Infantry disembarked here from the great side-wheel steamer the *City of Alton*, and drew its arms and equipment down at Jefferson Barracks, and I guess all of you know where that is. Although we then knew it not, as a matter of fact, we were then *en route* to Pittsburg Landing, situated upon the east bank of the rock-bound Tennessee River. But let me assure you, we were then an entirely different-looking lot of chaps from those you see before you

now. And it is well to bear in mind that more than half of all who fought at Shiloh on Sunday likewise drew their arms and equipment here and embarked from the same wharf from which we sail at 5 o'clock this evening. And it is also well for you to bear in mind that, soon after the battle, more than one-half of all of Shiloh's sick and wounded were returned here to a great brick block, then used as a hospital, which used to stand on Fourth Street, but which, years and years ago, was swept away by the wrath of time; and I was able to find but one man, a policeman, who retained any recollection of that great building having been used for a hospital.

Let me assure you, I still have a very clear recollection of being then stretched out on my back upon a cot in that great hospital building, helpless as a newly born babe, for some six weeks or more, burning with a fever like the furnace of a Mississippi steamer; and that, at about 2 p. m. of each and every day, as regularly as the planets move onward in their orbits around the sun, something like a dozen of your Sisters of Charity, always silent as the tombs in the Great Pyramid of Egypt, would file into that great hospital and pass along clear through every aisle of every ward, always leaving an orange or a lemon beside each and every cot. And I wish to say now, had it not been for those noble and God-fearing women, I would not be addressing you now. I am sure Heaven has blessed them for their noble deeds.

True enough it certainly is, these remarks are somewhat personal, and I ought to beg pardon therefor if it were not for the paramount fact that in telling my experience I also tell the exact experience of some 6,000 of my comrades, many of whom were then and there in worse condition than I was.

From all of which it may be readily seen that this splendid reception is all the more appropriate.

As I am standing before you now and looking backward away down the long avenues of fast-receding time for fifty-

six long years, filled to overflow with all their imports of good and ill,

“With all their hopes and all their fears,
With all their joys and all their tears,”

that heartrending strife at Shiloh rises before me—not like a dream, but as an actual, omnipresent, and stern reality. Looking away backward at that early and eventful Sunday morn, again seeming to hear anew those eight bells sounding from the deck of the *Tyler*, lying in the river just off the mouth of Dill’s Branch, and again hearing the faithful watch announce, “All is well”; again I seem to see Major Powell, of the 25th Missouri, with three companies of his regiment, hastening away out on the eastern Corinth road to discover whether the enemy is lurking about the Seay field; again I seem to see him cautiously approach the advance pickets commanded by Major Hardcastle of Hardee’s Corps, near the southeast corner of the Fraley field, and hear the reports of rifles in the distance; again I seem to see Colonel P. L. Moore, of the 21st Missouri, with five companies of his regiment, hastening out in the same direction, just as the plaintive notes of the whip-poor-will, trilling through the forest, bid farewell to the departing night.

And again I seem to hear, echoing upon that Sunday morn, the sprightly reveilles coming from the fifes and drums of the seventy-seven regiments of infantry and the bugles of the twenty-four batteries of artillery and eighteen squadrons of cavalry, located everywhere around about, summoning to roll-call more than 36,000 soldiers, and hear the orderlies call the rolls from A to Z, as each one answers, “I am here.”

And presently, again I seem to see the king of day ushering in that cloudless Sunday morn of primitive grandeur, and again inhale the bewitching fragrance of that springtime morn. Again I seem to see the feeble inmates of our hospitals, aided by rudely constructed canes, hobble forth to the upturned

lapels of their tents and gaze outward on Creation's most marvelous parade. Beautiful! How beautiful!

Again I seem to hear the reports of rifles in the distance, but am told it is nothing but pickets firing off their guns for return to camp; but, nevertheless, none are to be seen marching in. And then I listen for more, but have not long to listen. Hush! Hark! Did you not hear it? Surely that is the boom of a great gun away out beyond the camps of Prentiss. And right then and there, as swiftly as thought e'er followed thought, comes another, and another, and another. And just as Byron says in "*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*":

"Ah! then and there was hurrying to and fro,
And gathering tears, and tremblings of distress,
And cheeks all pale, which but an hour ago
Blushed at the praise of their own manliness;
And there were sudden partings, such as press
The life from out young hearts, and choking sighs
Which ne'er might be repeated. Who could guess
If ever more should meet those mutual eyes,
Since upon night so sweet such awful morn could rise?"

And again I seem to see the gallant Prentiss rushing Peabody's Brigade, of the Sixth Division, away out on the eastern Corinth road to support Colonel Moore, now falling back in seemly order; again I see this brigade waging an unequal strife against the four corps of the enemy until the brave Peabody falls dead from his horse just in front of the camps of Prentiss.

And again I seem to see each of the other five divisions forming in the ranks of war, precisely as heretofore stated, inclusive of the mountings in hot haste of the twenty-four batteries of artillery and eighteen squadrons of cavalry and their precipitate flight for the front.

And presently, again I seem to see the arrival of that dread hour of ten o'clock, when more than 80,000 men, all in the full vigor of American manhood and clad in both the blue and the gray, with more than 200 cannon and 80,000

muskets, fiercely wage the deadliest great pitched battle of modern times, wherein more than 26,000 Americans fall upon that dreadful field, while, everywhere, just like a magnetic needle, the very flesh is quivering upon the bones of both the living and the dead.

And again I seem to feel the very earth tremble beneath the concussion of more than 200 great guns, firing at short musket-range, with no protection for either man or beast except that scantily supplied by Nature at Creation's dawn.

Again I seem to hear the ceaseless din of 80,000 muskets, the screaming and bursting of shells, the flashes of circling fire, belching forth everywhere, flash on flash, flash on flash.

And now I seem to hear anew those pitiful appeals for assistance, coming from everywhere, calling for "Water! water!" and hear the heartrending screams of the limbless and the dying. And right then and there, piling horror on horror, I see the rank grass and dead leaves burst forth in raging flames among both the dead and helpless, whereupon, with strange accord, both the blue and the gray unite their utmost efforts to check and subdue the raging flames and save both the helpless and the dead from horrible cremation.

And again I see the waters of the Bloody Pond all crimsoned o'er and o'er with human blood; and also the Peach Orchard, where General Albert Sidney Johnston fell, everywhere strewn and piled with lifeless men until, as General Grant says, "one could walk clear across the field in any direction without ever stepping on the ground."

And again I seem to see that hasty formation of the Siege-gun Battery line by General Stephen A. Hurlbut with the Fighting Fourth Division, extending from the bluff of the river clear over to Owl Creek, which could not be outflanked; and see the enemy make charge after charge thereon for four successive times, and until the whole front was covered with his dead and wounded, always being repulsed.

And again I see our remaining heroes, without food or

shelter, standing there in battle array throughout all that cold and stormy night. And finally, at the first break of day on Monday, I see our brave boys assume the offensive for the first time and hurl the enemy constantly back till 2:30 p. m., when was made the heroic charge of Colonel Hall, 14th Illinois Infantry, which completely routed and dispersed the enemy, and glorious victory finally came.

But what can I say of the sacred dead? Let Childe Harold tell it:

“Last morn beheld them full of lusty life,
Last noon in Beauty’s circle proudly gay;
The midnight brought the signal sound of strife,
The morn the marshaling in arms,—the day
Battle’s magnificently stern array!
The thunder-clouds closed o’er it, which when rent
The earth is covered thick with other clay,
Which her own clay shall cover, heaped and pent,
Rider and horse,—friend, foe,—in one red burial blent.”

In conclusion, let us forever bear in mind that Shiloh was and is no barren victory, but constitutes the very turning-point of America’s greatest and deadliest war; that, after Shiloh, Secession never smiled again, but lies buried forevermore beside the vacant graves of the forty fallen heroes of the 28th Illinois, on Shiloh’s greatest prehistoric mound; that Shiloh compelled the boastful chivalry of the South to yield to the sterling manhood of America; that Shiloh proclaims the perpetuity of the United States of America; that this united Republic nevermore shall be compelled to bow to any foreign king, prince, or potentate, but shall become the dominant power of all this world of ours; that the most glorious utterance man can utter is, “I am an American”; that American ideals of government shall ultimately prevail in every country of every clime, and with every race and every tribe and every tongue, the world around; and that, away over beyond that vast true image of eternity, the Atlantic Ocean, and upon the hills and dales of sunny France, beside the

grave of America's Lafayette, it was the inspired sons and grandsons of Shiloh's heroes who hurled back the hordes of countless Huns, compelling them to beg and plead for peace on bended knees; and that, as our lamented Lincoln says, "This nation shall have a new birth; that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

This concluded the entertainment at St. Louis, and the *Kentucky* shoved out and headed down the river, the Chamber of Commerce Committee and military band remaining aboard till we reached Benton Barracks, when and where they bade us good-bye and went ashore just as Bob Hunter, 28th Illinois Infantry, fired a salute to the hero of Wilson's Creek.

Our initial campfire was held in the evening, preceded by a patriotic song by Mrs. Steidley and an invocation by Chaplain Cummins. We passed under the great steel railway bridge at Thebes, where the 28th Illinois had its first camp after leaving Springfield, Illinois, in 1861, and landed at the historic city of Cairo, Illinois, at 9 o'clock a. m. on the 3rd, where the patriotic citizens were waiting with automobiles to meet us and welcome us to their city. We were there met on the boat by a committee appointed by the Cairo Commerce Association, composed of Mayor Wood, Charles Fletcher, Hon. George Parsons, Rev. J. W. Coontz, Adolph Kaufman, C. M. Roos, and others, when and where Mrs. Parsons presented Mayor Wood, who extended a hearty welcome to us from the city of Cairo, and assured the Veterans that they felt highly honored by our visit.

The Mayor introduced the Reverend J. W. Coontz, who greeted us with an eloquent and patriotic address, as follows:

ADDRESS OF THE REVEREND JOHN W. COONTZ.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, and especially the Heroes of Shiloh Battlefield:

You have come a long way since that Sunday morning,

April 6, 1862; but you have come to no place in your journey that more appreciates what you did on that day than Cairo. We have no words adequately to express to you the deep reverence in which we hold you, and the tenderness of heart that is ours when we think of you. If you could see the wealth of love and noble feeling for you beating in every heart, you might well be warmed and comforted for the balance of life lying ahead of you. We wish to congratulate you for the many years you have been spared this Nation. You come down to us from the past, bringing all its best with you. We wish you God-speed on the way to join your Comrades who have joined the everlasting army. We congratulate you that again you are to see the battlefield where you fought so nobly, when you made this Nation and the world your debtors. How sweet it will be for you to walk over that field again and recall this circumstance and the other, and to pride yourselves, as you have a right to do, on the fact that here you did not fail your Nation! How blest will be the memories which will come to you there! It is always a great joy to our hearts to come to the place where we have done the most nobly, and when the years have proven we did not fight in vain.

We welcome you as the men who saved our Nation. If you had not done a thing since April 7, 1862, none could ever take from you the just pride that there you saved the great Republic. There you settled for all time that liberty of the people and by the people should not perish from the earth. Not to have won at Shiloh would have prolonged the war, if it had not lost it. It was a day big with destiny. The generals under whom you fought were not then as alert as they became in after years. The battle was not anticipated, and you were surprised; and no battle of all the war more tried the souls of men. You fought under grave disadvantage, but in such a way as to win and save this Nation.

In those days the republics were few and far between.

The government of the people, and by the people, and for the people, was the experiment you were fighting for, to see whether it should stand or perish. It is no small matter to have saved to the world the Republic under whose banners you fought. You gave this Nation to the world. All this Republic has meant to itself and the people who are its subjects, and to the world at large, we owe to you.

We welcome you to Cairo as the men who saved the world from the greatest curse which ever befell mankind—the curse of culture and arms. It was the Republic you saved that saved the world, your Nation and your sons who defeated Germany; for, in the crisis hour of the decision of England about the war, she took a great text from our Lincoln, and preached a sermon of inspiration therefrom. When there was a dearth of co-ordination in the armies of the Allies, we went back to the General Grant notion that all the fighting forces should be under one head, and General Foch took command. When at Chateau Thierry our boys, your sons, were ordered to retreat, they went back to Shiloh and began the offensive. We won in 1918 because you won in 1862. Had you failed, your sons must have failed. But th y fought with the power of freedom which you had given the world.

There is a crown of wild roses I wish to weave for you, and that is this: that in the war just closed there have been some wonderful exhibitions of bravery, but none more lasting or greater than those with you.

The place to which you have come to-day is an historical one. In a way, we recently celebrated our one hundredth anniversary as a county and a city. During the Civil War more great men, generals and statesmen, visited Cairo than any oth r city of the Nation, saving only the capital; but it is safe to say that none have either come or gone who more challenge our admiration and wonder than you.

The exercises lasted till 2:30, and we were then escorted

back to the boat, where we bade our friends good-bye and started up the Ohio for Paducah, where we were joined by several more Comrades. We had a glorious campfire that night. We passed Fort Henry before morning, and next day viewed the beautiful scenery along the rock-bound Tennessee River. We landed at Danville, Kentucky, and Johnsonville, the crossing of the L. & N. Railway. While moored at Clifton, Tennessee, we visited the old hotel, where we saw many relics of the war from the Battlefield of Shiloh. At 8 o'clock, April 6th, we arrived at Pittsburg Landing, where we were met by Superintendent George P. Dean, Major De Long Rice, and many others. We marched up the bluff to the flagstaff floating Old Glory, where exercises were inaugurated with prayer by Chaplain Cummins, after which we paid appropriate devotion to Shiloh's sainted dead, after which all went to Superintendents Dean and De Long Rice and registered. Then came the formation of parties for sight-seeing. Some went out to Shiloh's Pyramid, where forty of the fallen heroes of the 28th Illinois were originally buried; then to the Headquarters Monument of the Fourth Division; then to the Bloody Pond; then to the Regimental Monuments of the First Brigade, Fourth Division, where Albert Sidney Johnston fell; then to the ravine where Albert Sidney Johnston died; then out to the Headquarters Monument of General Prentiss, and thence to the Fraley field, where the 21st Missouri opened the battle at first peep of day, Sunday, April 6, 1862; and then returned to the boat for dinner.

Others went out to the Hornets' Nest and the 1st Minnesota Battery Monument; then to McClernand and Sherman Headquarters and the Illinois State Monuments, Shiloh Church, Ray and Shiloh Springs, returning to the boat for dinner *via* the Jones field, where the Fourth Division made a desperate charge on Monday morning.

During these rounds we were met and greeted by many Confederate soldiers, who had kindly greetings for all.

The daughters of the U. D. C. have erected one of the finest monuments on the entire battlefield beside the main Corinth road, for which they are entitled to great credit.

After partaking of a splendid dinner, all assembled at the Pavilion, where some 200 itizens of the surrounding country assembled, many of them being old Confederate soldiers. Here Mr. John Wyatt gave a reading on "Shiloh Hill," after which Chaplain Cummins addressed us, as follows:

ADDRESS OF CHAPLAIN J. W. CUMMINS.

*Mr. Commander, Members of the Battle of Shiloh Association,
and Citizens of Tennessee:*

It has grown to be a custom that on this occasion we have an address a little wider in scope than those ordinarily delivered at campfires. For four successive years it has been my privilege to deliver this address.

We have met on this battlefield to pay our respects to the brave men about us and to commemorate the deeds of valor of those who sleep here in their windowless tombs in this great National Military Park. It is certainly fitting that we should, on one day of each year, strew the graves of the heroes who fell here with fragrant flowers, recount the scenes of suffering through which they passed, and thereby be reminded of the blessings they brought to us. Their memory will never die; their glory can not fade; the luster of their names will grow brighter and brighter as the river of years rolls into the vast sea of eternity. In recounting the valorous deeds of our fathers and brothers, the flames of patriotism will burn afresh in our bosoms, our hearts will heave like the swelling of the sea, and our love for Old Glory will be fanned afresh. The land we love will become more dear to us, and we sing, because sing we must:

" My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free,
Thy name I love.

I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills;
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above."

And devoutly and earnestly we pray:

"Our fathers' God, to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing:
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, our King."

We have a great country. It is great in extent, in wealth, in resources, and in influence. We have great farms, fields, flocks, and herds; and we have great men.

"We have men to match our mountains,
We have men to match our plains;
Men with new empires in their purpose,
Men with new eras in their brains."

Do you know this country is so big that it has one State large enough to hold all the inhabitants of the world, with less than ten to the acre? You may take the teeming millions of China, the multitudes of the Straits and Japan, empty all of Africa, add to that all the islands of the sea, all of Europe, every nation and every tribe on this terrestrial ball, and place them all in the State of Texas, and there will still be plenty of room left.

The Stars and Stripes floats over a big country, thanks to the boys clad in blue. We have not been making history long, but have made a lot of it while we have been about it. When this continent was discovered, it was one trackless wilderness, just as it came from the hand of the great Creator. Here, locked in by the two great oceans, with the frozen icebergs on the north and the Gulf of Mexico on the south, slept a mighty continent, unmolested and undisturbed as the

ocean which had slowly and steadily knelled the birth and death of untold centuries. After the vessels of Columbus had crossed the unpathed waters, every nation of the Old World gave up its men and women to people the New, and the forests gave way to fields and the plains became cities. And so our country has come with varied experience up to the present hour.

There has not been a single period of our Nation's history which has been free from serious difficulties. When there was but a shoestring of civilization stretching along the Atlantic coast, the early settlers endured privations on one hand, and fought treacherous Indians with the other; they went to church carrying their Bibles and implements of war. When war disturbed the mother countries, the colonists here would take up the quarrel; and we had our King Philip's War, Queen Anne's War, King William's War, and the French and Indian War. After the Colonies were established, came the events leading to the Revolutionary War. There were giants in those days: Patrick Henry, James Otis, Samuel Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and George Washington.

At 10 o'clock September 5, 1774, delegates from twelve Colonies met in Carpenter Hall, Philadelphia, and began the first session of the Continental Congress. The first time I was in the City of Brotherly Love, I hastened to the hall where our Declaration of Independence was signed, and after that to Carpenter Hall. They were men who differed in religion, politics, and commercial interests, and everything depending on climate, labor, usage, and manners. They were swayed by prejudice and quarreling about boundary lines. But here they came together in one common cause, the exponents of a doctrine destined to shake the thrones across the sea.

The Continental Congress agreed to a great American Association, and to regulate commercial interests with Great

Britain. The agreement consisted of fourteen Articles, and the covenant was in these words:

“We do, for ourselves and the inhabitants of the several Colonies which we represent, firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and love of country.”

This compact for the preservation of American rights which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation, may be justly regarded as the commencement of the American Union.

On the 2nd day of July, 1776, a resolution was adopted declaring: “These United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States,” and that all political connection between them and Great Britain ought to be dissolved.

On the 4th of July this Declaration of American Independence was adopted. On the 9th of the following September a resolution was adopted declaring that in all documents where the words “United Colonies” occurred the style should be altered to read: “United States.” And right then and there was flung to the breeze the banner of the United States of America, which, please God, hath not ceased to answer to the free wind of heaven to this very day. Then came Lexington and Concord, Brandywine and Yorktown

“Out of the North the wild news came,
Far-flashing on its wings of flame,
Swift as the boreal light that flies
At midnight through the startled skies;
And there was tumult in the air,
The fife’s shrill note, the drum’s loud beat,
And through the broad land, everywhere,
The answering tread of hurrying feet,
While the first oath of Freedom’s gun
Came on the blast of Lexington;
And Concord, roused, no longer tame
Forgot her old baptismal name,
Made bare her patriotic arm of power,
And swelled the discord of the hour.”

Between Lexington and Yorktown many were numbered with the dead that we might be free. But the end finally came. In August, Sir Guy Carlton, who had charge of all the British forces, received orders to evacuate New York City, and shortly thereafter the British army embarked, the sails were spread, the ships stood out to sea, dwindled to specks, and disappeared. The Briton was gone. He came back in 1812, but received so hot a reception that he went away, to come not back on such a mission, let us hope, forever. Now the States were free and independent, and we were left to work out our own salvation.

But it was not long till there came a ripple on the surface, in the Nullification Act of South Carolina. This is of importance as being the *first attempt at secession*.⁷ The Convention met at Columbia, South Carolina and declared the tariff laws of 1828 and 1832 to be null and void, and not binding on the State, her officers or citizens. But when this reached the ears of President Jackson, he promptly issued a proclamation. 1st, He exhorted the people of South Carolina to obey the laws of Congress. 2nd, He pointed out the illegality of such a procedure. 3rd, He showed that the Federal Government was one in which the people of all the States were represented. 4th, He affirmed that the representatives in Congress were the representatives of the United States, and not of the several States. 5th, And that this was not a league, but a government, and that it operated on individuals, and not on States. 6th, That the several States parted with enough of their powers to make a Nation, and that the claim of a right to secede was not a mere act of withdrawing, but was destructive of the unity of the Nation. It was during this period that the memorable debate between Colonel Hayne, of South Carolina, and Daniel Webster, of Massa-

⁷The very first serious mistake of this most eloquent address. Perhaps it is excusable from the fact that such was the general belief of this section at that time. But, as a matter of absolute fact, for more than forty years next following the adoption of the Federal Constitution, it was the general belief of very nearly all the Colonists that any State had a perfect right to withdraw from the Federal Union whenever it thought it to be to its own interest so to do.—THE AUTHOR.

chusetts, occurred in the United States Senate. The difficulty grew out of the different construction placed upon the Constitution. Not all the wisdom nor all the loyalty was on one side. Wise men differed honestly. The fire was not then put out; it was only covered up and left to smoulder. And thus it was when Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated as the sixteenth President of the United States.

For several years there had been talk of secession.⁸ Now the work began in earnest. Delegates from seven States met at Montgomery, Alabama, and formed what they called the Confederate States of America. Officers were elected, a cabinet chosen, and the machinery of an independent government started.

The question now was, Shall we have one country, or two? Those were tense, expectant days. War seemed inevitable. The seceding States grew from 7 to 11. What would be the outcome? The matter was soon settled. On April 12, at 4:30 in the morning, the first gun of the Great War was discharged at Fort Sumter from a Confederate battery. After thirty-four hours of continuous bombardment, Fort Sumter surrendered and Major Anderson withdrew.

The news spread like wildfire on a prairie fanned by a tornado.

Three days after the fall of Sumter the President issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers for three months to put down the rebellion! How little did he dream of the magnitude of the war then upon us!

As time went on, the Confederates held a strong line of fortifications, commencing at Columbus, Kentucky, on the Mississippi, stretching through Forts Heiman, Henry, and Donelson, Bowling Green, Kentucky, and thence to Virginia.

The Union idea was to break this line of defense, open the Mississippi clear through to the Gulf, attack the enemy

⁸Yes, indeed, there had always been talk about it. See Chapter III., Part I., where it is conclusively shown secession moves were had long before the time given in the address.—THE AUTHOR.

at Corinth, and thus on to Vicksburg and Mobile. For a considerable time General Grant had his headquarters at Cairo, and succeeded in breaking this line and winning victories at Forts Henry and Donelson. At Fort Donelson my mother's brother, Colonel Thomas Smith, of the 48th Illinois, fell, as his monument says, a brave and valiant soldier at the head of his regiment.

No doubt you have vivid memories of traveling up the Tennessee River and going into camp here. It is hardly possible for this generation to realize the emotions which now stir your breasts as you stand on the spot where your tent stood that Sunday morning fifty and four years ago, or as you walk over the ground where your regiment fought and you saw your comrades fall, wounded unto death.

If Grant intended to join forces with Buell and fight Johnston at Corinth, he reckoned without his host, for Johnston meant to whip Grant at Shiloh, go on and do the same thing for Buell wherever found, and then invade the North. If his plan had not been upset, instead of singing "Marching through Georgia," the other side might have sung "While We Were Marching through Illinois." The tune might have been the same, but the words would have been different, and so would the result.

I quote from one of our own numbers, Judge Howard, 28th Illinois Infantry, of Gettysburg, South Dakota, who travels from that far-away city each and every year to be present at the anniversaries:

(Here followed the portion of the author's address delivered at the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Shiloh entitled "The Past Rises Before Me," and which appears in full in Part II., Chapter IX.)

All returned to the boat for supper and recreation, highly elated.

After supper came the annual business meeting and col-

lection of dues for the current year, and also the election and appointment of officers, at which Comrades were selected as follows:

Commander, George P. Washburn, 21st Missouri, Ottawa, Kan.;

Senior Vice-Commander, Isaac Yantis, 41st Illinois, Findlay, Ill.;

Junior Vice-Commander, S. M. French, 12th Iowa, Chicago, Ill.;

Chaplain, Rev. J. W. Cummins, Cairo, Ill.;

Adjutant and Quartermaster, James S. Forgey, Ottawa, Kan.;

Chief of Staff, Judge Samuel M. Howard, 28th Illinois Infantry, Gettysburg, S. D.;

Chief of Artillery, Robert Hunter, 28th Illinois Infantry, Pittsfield, Ill.;

Chief Mustering Officer, Harry White, 1st Missouri, Pittsfield, Ill.;

Officer of the Day, Colonel M. M. Hoyer, 19th Ohio, Akron, Ohio;

Medical Director, F. C. Larimore, 20th Ohio, Mt. Vernon, Ohio.

Returning, a farewell meeting was held just before reaching St. Louis, at which each bade farewell to all till another year.

And thus gloriously terminated the most successful of all Reunions.

The following is a complete roster of all attending the Reunion of 1919:

Major J. H. Ashcraft, 26th Kentucky, Paducah, Ky.

John M. Baker, 25th Indiana, Stewartsville, Ind.

J. N. Barrett, 25th Indiana, Kansas City, Mo.

J. L. Babbitt, 50th Illinois, Avon, Ill.

Simeon Bundy, 41st Illinois, Bruce, Ill.

C. W. Baker, 53d Ohio, Pittsburg Landing, Tenn.

Harrison Cline, 54th Ohio, Oak Grove, Mo.
Selden M. French, 12th Iowa, 5518 Race Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Henry George, 7th Kentucky, C. S. A., Pewee Valley, Ky.
Theron Gould, 40th Illinois, Bible Grove, Ill.
J. T. Heath, 8th Iowa, Urbana, Ia.
M. W. Hoyer, 19th Ohio, Akron, Ohio.
Samuel M. Howard, 28th Illinois, Gettysburg, S. D.
John J. Hardin, 32nd Indiana, Pittsburg Landing, Tenn.
Robert Hunter, 28th Illinois, Pittsfield, Ill.
A. K. Ketcham, 12th Iowa, Clarion, Ia.
George Meuney, 2nd Iowa, Sheldon, Ia.
John McLean, 40th Illinois, 632 E. 112th St., Chicago, Ill.
William O'Connor, 21st Missouri, Harrison, Ill.
R. E. Osborn, 14th Wisconsin, Minneapolis, Minn.
Ed. Penstone, 73rd Illinois, Pittsfield, Ill.
M. M. Potter, 55th Illinois, 2458 Winona, Chicago, Ill.
Major D. W. Reed, 12th Iowa, Pittsburg Landing, Tenn.
W. H. Shaw, 19th Ohio, Hubbard Woods, Ill.
William Sheerer, 12th Illinois, Galena, Ill.
Frank Shultz, 58th Illinois, 1021 South Jefferson, Chicago, Ill.
C. M. See, 40th Illinois, Alma, Ill.
George Tretheway, 25th Indiana, Stewartsville, Ind.
E. S. Waterbury, 15th Illinois, Polo, Ill.
Harry White, 1st Missouri, Pittsfield, Ill.
George P. Washburn, 21st Missouri, Ottawa, Kan.
Isaac Yantis, 41st Illinois, Findlay, Ill.

Honorary Members.

Rev. J. W. Cummins, Chaplain, Cairo, Ill.
Rev. J. B. Cummins, Greenville, Ill.
Mrs. J. W. Cummins, Cairo, Ill.
C. L. Steidley, 659 North 12th St., East St. Louis, Ill.
Mrs. S. E. Steidley, Palmyra, Ill.
O. P. Morton, Clarion, Ia.
Mrs. O. P. Morton, Clarion, Ia.

Mrs. A. K. Ketcham, Clarion, Ia.
C. A. Washburn, Ottawa, Kan.
Mrs. M. W. Hoyer, Akron, Ohio.
Mrs. S. M. French, 5538 Race Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Luella Meeker, Clarion, Ia.
Miss Blanche Ketcham, Clarion, Ia.
Miss Lydia Richards, Clarion, Ia.
Mrs. William Sheerer, Galena, Ill.
Mrs. N. R. Bradford, Greenville, Ill.
Mrs. M. C. James, East St. Louis, Ill.
Mrs. Susan Sterley, Palmyra, Ill.
Mrs. J. A. Keller, 400 Winson, Milwaukee, Wis.
Mrs. Linda Doerfest, 211 Knapp, Milwaukee, Wis.
W. E. Waterbury, Watertown, S. D.
E. D. Waterbury, Scotland, S. D.
Nathan Mount, Polo, Ill.
George Yantis, Findlay, Ill.
S. Babbitt, Avon, Ill.
John C. Hall, McLeansboro, Ill.
Agatha Shultz, Chicago, Ill.
Charles M. Hart, 207 Monroe, Jefferson City, Mo.
Joe Meeker, Clarion, Ia.
R. D. Ketcham, Clarion, Ia.
Mrs. James L. Lyons, Hubbard Woods, Ill.
Harmon Shaw, 227 22nd, Milwaukee, Wis.
F. E. Bundy, Bruce, Ill.
R. D. Morrow, Danville, Ill.
John W. Key Cummins, Cairo, Ill.
Lyman Jackson Steidley, East St. Louis, Ill.
C. E. Neeley, 1209 Fullerton Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
James E. McClure, Carlinville, Ill.
Mrs. Hazel Washburn Stookey, Ottawa, Kan.
F. H. Swift, St. Louis, Mo.
P. Stoner, Denver, Col.
Edward J. St. Onge, clerk, *Kentucky*, St. Louis, Mo.

John C. Thompson, Belleville, Ill.

George Waugh, St. Louis, Mo.

Mrs. R. A. Warner, Cairo, Ill.

Mrs. Trula White, Pittsfield, Ill.

Mrs. Gussie Yantis, Findlay, Ill.

Mrs. Ollie Yonart, Findlay, Ill.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REUNION.

On the Fifty-Eighth Anniversary of the Battle.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, April 2, 1920.

Commander Washburn and staff and many Survivors met at St. Louis on the steamer *Kentucky*, for the purpose of attending the Reunion of Battle of Shiloh Survivors to be held at Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee River, on the fifty-eighth anniversary of the battle, and the following are the statements of the official proceedings:

The journey to this historic battlefield may be briefly told. After untiring effort and extensive correspondence, we were overwhelmed with applications for reservations on the steamer *Kentucky* for the excursion, assembling on board on the morning of the 2nd. An invitation was extended to the Veterans, their families and friends to meet in the assembly-room of the Hotel Statler at 12 o'clock, noon, by the Committee of Public Celebrations of the Chamber of Commerce, by James R. Dunn, chairman thereof.

The reception and luncheon by about 80 Veterans, members of their families and others, under the following programme: "America" was rendered by the St. Louis Pageant Chorus, conducted by Frederick Fischer; Invocation by the Rev. Dr. E. Combie Smith, D.D.; Welcome to St. Louis by Mayor Henry W. Keil, followed by "The Battle-cry of Freedom" by the Pageant Chorus; Greetings of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce by Captain T. E. Turin; "Battle Hymn of the Republic" by S. D. Webster; Greetings of the Spanish War Veterans by Captain R. E. Lee; "Tenting To-night on the Old Camp-ground" by the Pageant Chorus; Response

by Commander Washburn; Greetings of the American Legion by Colonel Robert Burkham; "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp" by the Pageant Chorus; War Story by S. M. French; "Hail Columbia" by the Pageant Chorus; War Story by Edward Yates, of Illinois; War Story by Judge Samuel M. Howard, 28th Illinois Infantry, of Gettysburg, South Dakota; and closed by singing "The Star-spangled Banner," led by the Pageant Chorus. The Colonial Drum Corps, in full costume, representing "The Spirit of '76," Major G. W. Manley, M. M. Potter, and Master G.W.Washburn (grandson of the Commander), was highly appreciated.

The Veterans and friends were then taken on a tour of the city in automobiles; among the noted places visited was the Jefferson Memorial Park, where a moving picture was taken of the Veterans and is now on the circuit. We journeyed through beautiful Forest Park (World's Fair grounds), which called many changes to mind. After this extensive tour, we were taken to the wharf at the foot of Pine Street, where the steamer *Kentucky* was waiting for us.

Feeling grateful to the Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. Dunn in particular, we now bade Mr. Dunn and our friends good-bye; and at 5 o'clock the cables were hauled in, the gangway raised with a military salute by Bob Hunter, and with martial music the steamer started down the Father of Waters for our destination. No special events occurred, except getting acquainted with Comrades from New York to California and from Montana to Florida. A splendid camp-fire was held in the evening. Commander Washburn wired Mayor Wood of Cairo we were due to arrive at the "Walled City" at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 3rd. On arrival there, Mayor W. H. Wood and a committee of citizens met us on board the *Kentucky*, and after addresses of welcome by Mayor Wood, Rev. J. W. Coontz, and the President of the Legion and citizens, and a response delivered by E. V. Sayers, 28th Illinois, Adjutant General of the Association of Battle

of Shiloh Survivors, an invitation was extended to visit the city by automobiles, in which all indulged. Many reminiscences were talked over and everyone took part. The one particular beauty of the ride was to see the beautiful magnolia trees in bloom, but the most delightful part was the terminus of the drive, when we were received at the palatial residence of Mrs. E. A. Kennedy, where an elaborate luncheon was served, assisted by the Women's Relief Corps, after which all returned to the steamer. One of the notable sights was the mad waves of the Ohio River battling against the sea wall, demanding a right to inundate the city; but we were informed by citizens that the wall would stand another 10-foot rise. At 12 o'clock, noon, the sounding of the bell and blasts of the whistle said, "Go!" and the boom of cannon, martial music, waving of handkerchiefs and flags, witnessed our departure for Paducah at the mouth of the overflowing Tennessee River.

The next place of interest was Fort Henry, Tennessee, where the earthworks only were visible above the high waters. The next places of interest are Danville and Johnsonville, Tennessee. A great railway bridge spans the river at each place. A splendid campfire was held every evening, and we arrived at Pittsburg Landing at 7 a. m. on the morning of the 6th, where we were met and greeted by Captain George P. Dean, Superintendent of Shiloh National Cemetery, and Major De Long Rice, Director of Shiloh National Military Park. We marched from the boat under the strains of martial music to the Cemetery and assembled around the flagstaff, from which Old Glory was ploudly floating. After brief devotional services, we tarried a while and then walked up to the office of Captain Dean and Major De Long Rice and registered, and passed out into the National Military Park, where sightseeing commenced. Numerous conveyances were in waiting, but many Veterans walked, especially to locate their

Companies and battleground and the trees they dodged behind during portions of the battle.

At 5 o'clock in the evening all were called aboard, when the steamer moved down the river to Savannah, nine miles below, to allow the Veterans to visit the Cherry mansion, which was General Grant's headquarters when the Battle of Shiloh began. Mr. Cherry was a Union man. His granddaughter, Mrs. Mary Irvin, entertained several of the visitors in a very kindly manner, and related a story of General Grant's kindness. Mrs. Irvin had two nephews in the Rebel armies, but General Grant promised her: "If your Rebel nephews are wounded, they shall be sent to your home to be nursed; if killed, you shall receive their bodies." The second day after the battle an ambulance drove to the door and the two seriously wounded boys were carried into the house. One died within a month, and the other passed away in 1918. But the family ever remember General Grant's kindness.

While eating breakfast in the Cherry mansion Sunday morning, April 6, 1862, the distant booming of cannon was heard. The battle was on; the breakfast was unfinished; and, with his staff, General Grant left for the field of strife.

Pittsburg Landing was named for John Pitts, who settled there in 1804 and had a farm of 5,000 acres. It is the most beautiful of all the landings on the historic Tennessee River.

We returned to Shiloh for breakfast on the morning of the 7th, where sightseeing was continued, viewing the different markers and monuments and reading the inscriptions thereon. There are about 700 monuments and markers on the Battlefield, some of which cost as much as \$60,000 each. The campground of every Regiment is marked by a metal camp marker, giving the hours engaged, the number killed and wounded, etc. Among the many places of interest are Shiloh Church, the Hornets' Nest, the Bloody Pond, and the deadly Peach Orchard, where the Confederates charged and recharged for

seven successive times, but were always repulsed with fearful slaughter, and where General Albert Sidney Johnston received a mortal wound and died in twenty minutes. In his report General Grant says of the Peach Orchard: "One could walk clear across the field in any direction, stepping on the dead, and never setting foot on the ground."

Some other places of interest are the Prehistoric Mounds, supposed to have been erected by a forgotten race long before America was discovered. In exploring one of these mounds fine samples of pottery have been found; and other relics, samples of which are on exhibition in the office of the Park Director.

The Park contains nearly 4,000 acres and about thirty miles of graveled roads, following the lines of those existing at the time of the battle. The most beautiful place is the National Cemetery, the entire surface of the ground being literally covered with a mass of flowers of varied colors, which gives the appearance of a vast carpet; and these prevail nowhere else. The Cemetery is situated right on top of the bluff, overlooking the valley of the beautiful Tennessee River. The dead of each regiment are located separately in the Cemetery, so they can be readily identified.

On the afternoon of the 7th a great meeting was held at the Pavilion in the Park, whereat patriotic songs were sung; and the Veterans were formally welcomed with addresses by Captain George P. Dean, Superintendent of the Cemetery, and Major De Long Rice, Director of the Park, known as "the silver-tongued orator of Tennessee." The following is a part of his address:

"It gives me pleasure again to greet you. It is fitting that once each year you make a pilgrimage to these historic grounds. Again you have come to worship at the shrine of patriotism, which burns and ever will burn within your breasts. In the sunset of life, may you be preserved to make many more pilgrimages to this sacred Battlefield."

At 5 o'clock the call came from the steamer that the battle had been fought for the fifty-eighth time. Cables were loosened and the final cannon salute fired, and amid the strains of martial music and the waving of handkerchiefs and flags the *Kentucky* floated out on the Tennessee River, homeward bound.

In the evening the annual business meeting of the Association was held, when George P. Washburn was re-elected Commander for the fourth time, Isaac Yantis was elected Senior Vice-Commander and S. M. French Junior Commander, and E. V. Sayers was appointed Adjutant and Quartermaster; after which a splendid campfire was held. The final campfire was held on the evening of the 9th, and closed by singing "God Be with You till We Meet Again." We arrived at St. Louis on the morning of the 10th and departed for home.

At a business meeting held in the cabin of the *Kentucky* on the 7th the annual financial report of the Adjutant and Quartermaster was read and approved, as follows:

Total receipts from Comrades for dues and contributions	
from honorary members	\$165.10
Balance carried over from last year	8.58
	<hr/>
Total receipts	\$173.68
Total expenditures for printing proceedings, circulars, letters, stationery, badges, postage, etc., as per itemized account	173.61
	<hr/>
Leaving balance in treasury of	\$0.07
Respectfully submitted. E. V. SAYERS, A. & Q. M.	

The next order of business was the election and appointment of officers. On motion, properly seconded, the rules were suspended, and all present officers were re-elected for the current year.

Thereupon Commander Washburn appointed the various committees.

On motion, duly seconded, all Soldiers and visitors at-

tending this Reunion, not Survivors of the Battle of Shiloh, were duly decorated with a badge bearing the likeness of General U. S. Grant, as honorary members of the National Association of the Battle of Shiloh Survivors. Adopted.

WHEREAS, On the 2nd day of April, 1920, the National Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors were given a grand reception and banquet at Hotel Statler, under the auspices of the Reception Committee of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, through the courtesy of the Honorable James R. Dunn, chairman thereof;

Be it Resolved, That this Association extends its sincere thanks therefor, and that the same are hereby gratefully and graciously presented to said Chamber of Commerce, and especially to the Pageant Chorus, and that it is our especial pleasure to extend thanks to the Honorable James R. Dunn for his services in our behalf;

Resolved, That we are under obligations to the city of St. Louis, collectively, for the kind attentions shown our Association while in the city; and

Resolved, That we will come again.

EDWARD YATES,

E. V. SAYERS,

SAMUEL M. HOWARD,

Committee.

Approved: GEORGE P. WASHBURN, *Commander.*

Reports of the Memorial Committees. .

MAJOR JAMES H. ASHCRAFT.

To Commander George P. Washburn:

The Committee appointed by you to express the deep sorrow of this Association on learning of the death of Comrade James H. Ashcraft report:

That he was born in Brandenburg, Kentucky, in 1840, and endeavored to induce all his boyhood friends to rally

under the standard of Old Glory. He succeeded in getting only about half to follow him when he joined the 26th Kentucky. He served with credit to himself and honor to his regiment to the close of the war, when he returned to his native town and married the sweetheart left behind, who bore him three sons, all of whom are still living.

As a partial reward for his ability and fidelity, he was appointed one of the three Commissioners of the Shiloh National Military Park, and served until the other two had answered the final roll-call to cross the Jordan.

As long as his health remained, he was always present at every Reunion till swept away by the wrath of Time, and was ever a glory in the horizon of this Association as long as health remained. This entire Association, and each of his three sons, will deplore our loss for time to come.

S. M. HOWARD,
ISAAC YANTIS,
HARRY WHITE,
Committee.

I now move you, sir, that these resolutions be adopted and spread on the records of this Association, and that an authenticated copy be sent to the family of our lamented Comrade.

S. M. HOWARD.

GEORGE WHITFIELD REESE.

Mr. Commander Washburn:

Your Committee of one appointed to return the devotion of the Battle of Shiloh Survivors for the memory of George Whitfield Reese reports that he served three full years in Company H, 28th Illinois Infantry, of the "Fighting Fourth Division," Army of the Tennessee, and paced back and forth on the night preceding the Battle of Shiloh before General Hurlbut's headquarters, and, more than this, that he was never relieved; that he was honorably discharged at Natchez, Mississippi, in 1864, returned to his home in Ohio and married

"the girl he left behind," and became the parent of two sons and three daughters, all of whom deeply mourn his loss; that he lived a long and useful life to his country and his friends, and died in his own home just across the street from the Ross mansion, Lewistown, Illinois, on the last day of October, 1919.

George Whitfield Reese was always as true to his friends and family as gravitation to the globe.

SAMUEL M. HOWARD, *Committee.*

Mr. Commander, I now move that these resolutions be spread at length on the records of this Association; that they be unanimously adopted, and that a duly authenticated copy hereof for his family be forwarded to Kittie Reese, Lewistown, Illinois.

SAMUEL M. HOWARD.

Unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

GEORGE P. WASHBURN, *Commander.*

E. V. SAYERS, *Adjutant.*

The following is a complete roster of those attending the fifty-eighth anniversary at Pittsburg Landing, April 6-7, 1920:

Members.

Rev. J. W. Akers, 7th Iowa, Olivet, Ill.
 E. Atkinson, 1st Ohio Battery, St. James, Mo.
 A. K. Ballard, 48th Ohio, Birmingham, Ala.
 B. Boyce, 2nd Illinois Cavalry, Wichita, Kan.
 James M. Bell, 39th Indiana, Galveston, Ind.
 J. A. Butt, 41st and 55th Illinois, Decatur, Ill.
 O. H. Brookshire, 20th Kentucky, Moweaqua, Ill.
 Rev. Loyal Bigelow, 16th Indiana, Essex, N. Y.
 William H. Barkley, 55th Illinois, Haxton, Col.
 W. H. H. Barker, 1st Iowa Cavalry, Harvey, Ia.
 J. M. Bull, 12th Illinois, Kansas, Ill.
 Charles Barrett, 46th Illinois, Sioux Falls, Ill.
 H. L. Brewer, 12th Illinois, Rock Falls, Ill.

- C. W. Bringham, 150th Illinois, La Fayette, Ind.
*L. W. Brannon, 6th Iowa, Princeton, Mo.
T. H. Cope, 8th Iowa, Holton, Kan.
*Colonel J. B. Cook, 4th Illinois Cavalry, Chetopa, Kan.
J. S. Carpenter, 32nd Illinois, Webb City, Mo.
J. Davidson, 32nd Illinois, Hastings, Ia.
Robert Dixon, 55th Illinois, Witt, Ill.
Milton Douglas, 149th Ohio, Converse, Ind.
H. Eno, 8th Missouri, Los Angeles, Cal.
A. B. Ellis, 13th Tennessee, C. S. A., Capleville, Tenn.
De Bold (Bismarck) Furrer, 28th Illinois, Easton, Ill.
General S. M. French, 12th Iowa, 5518 Race Ave., Chicago.
E. B. Fisher, 23rd Missouri, Florence, Kan.
J. M. Fitzpatrick, 123rd Illinois, Mattoon, Ill.
J. S. Forgey, 10th Indiana, Ottawa, Kan.
J. T. Francis, 16th Iowa, Decatur, Ill.
L. K. Green, 73rd Indiana, Waverly, Kan.
Thomas Ganer, 5th Missouri, Spickard, Mo.
Theron Gould, 40th Illinois, Bible Grove, Ill.
Judge Samuel M. Howard, 28th Illinois, Gettysburg, S. D.
Robert Hunter, 28th Illinois, Pittsfield, Ill.
Oscar Hammond, 10th Indiana, Terre Haute, Ind.
L. C. Henley, 7th Illinois, Mattoon, Ill.
*W. F. Hinkle, 44th Indiana, Saltillo, Tenn.
*Fred Hoyer, 18th Illinois, Paducah, Ky.
*M. W. Hoyer, 19th Ohio, Akron, Ohio.
D. T. Jones, 1st Kentucky, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Emlik Johnson, 21st Missouri, Browning, Mo.
Major E. S. Johnson (Custodian Lincoln Monument), Springfield, Ill.
Scott Kelsey, U. S. S. *Fairplay*, Topeka, Kan.
Samuel Kelsey, 137th Illinois, Pleasant Hill, Ill.
H. B. F. Keller, 1st Kansas Battery, Ottawa, Kan.
*John A. Logan, 49th Illinois, Ashley, Ill.
J. B. Lyons, 51st Indiana, Brook, Ind.

- I. J. Lewis, 12th Iowa, Cedar Rapids, Ia.
 N. E. Lane, 21st Missouri, Barring, Mo.
 A. D. Latta, 59th Illinois, Charleston, Ill.
 J. H. Lang, 32nd Illinois, Robinson, Kan.
 William Lowe, 36th Indiana, Warrensburg, Mo.
 T. F. Latta, 2nd Illinois Light Artillery, Greenup, Ill.
 J. T. Layman, 118th Illinois, Haxton, Col.
 R. I. Law, Assistant Surgeon, 14th Corps, Galesburg, Ill.
 *Dr. F. C. Larimore, 20th Ohio, Mt. Vernon, Ohio.
 *Joe Morris, 21st Missouri, Montezuma, Ia.
 *Joseph Mason, 48th Illinois, Cave in Rock, Ill.
 T. H. McCord, 66th Illinois, Paris, Ill.
 J. D. McKinnie, 18th U. S., Prospect, Ohio.
 I. Missenheimer, 64th Illinois, Pleasant View, Ill.
 J. P. Martin, 10th Indiana, Princeton, Kan.
 Major J. W. Manley, 51st Indiana, Chicago, Ill.
 T. McKinnie, 11th Iowa, Afton, Ia.
 *N. B. Moore, 2nd Iowa, Chehalis, Wash.
 H. Neff, 1st Ohio Infantry, Hiawatha, Kan.
 L. O. Nicols, 12th and 63rd Illinois, Raton, Ill.
 M. M. Potter, 55th Illinois, Dunning Station, Ill.
 Samuel Preston, 70th Ohio, Barnes, Kan.
 Edward Penstone, 73rd Illinois, Pittsfield, Ill.
 G. W. Peters, 11th Iowa, Des Moines, Ia.
 James Red, 70th Ohio, Winchester, Ohio.
 B. F. Richmond, 38th Illinois, Las Animas, Col.
 D. Ritterback, 20th Illinois, Akron, Ohio.
 *Loring Starr, 21st Missouri, Groton, Ia.
 C. G. Senikel, 58th Ohio, Jersey City, N. J.
 Dan Shutters, 116th Illinois, Decatur, Ill.
 J. W. Schenk, 6th Indiana, Henryetta, Okla.
 Eli Smith, 104th Ohio, Akron, Ohio.
 Jacob Stephen, 12th Indiana, Eldon, Mo.
 *T. O. Sloan, 44th Indiana, McLeansboro, Ill.
 Eli Sweet, 7th Iowa, North English, Ia.

- James Stewart, Missouri Engineers, Paris, Ill.
E. V. Sayers, 28th Illinois, Ottawa, Kan.
C. M. See, 40th Illinois, Alma, Ill.
*T. N. Terry, 20th Wisconsin, Meadow Grove, Neb.
*Fred Underfinger, 43rd Illinois, Springfield, Ill.
General George P. Washburn, 307 S. Cherry, Ottawa, Kan.
W. I. Webster, 15th Iowa, Beatrice, Neb.
Harry White, 1st Missouri, Pittsfield, Ill.
E. F. Will, 77th Pennsylvania, Jessup, Md.
E. Whitcomb, 34th Illinois, Friend, Neb.
*George Webster, 2nd Illinois Cavalry, Pittsfield, Ill.
General Isaac Yantis, 41st Illinois, Findlay, Ill.

Honorary Members.

- Mrs. H. L. Brewer, Rock Falls, Ill.
M. W. Boyce, Eads, Col.
William Ballard, Amboy, Ind.
Henry Balfour, Nehawka, Neb.
G. J. Bauer, Pittsfield, Ill.
Mrs. James M. Bull, Kansas, Ill.
H. M. Crozier, Purser, *Kentucky*, St. Louis, Mo.
Lauder Crozier, *Kentucky*, St. Louis, Mo.
Captain H. N. Crane, *Kentucky*, St. Louis, Mo.
Barney Garriher, Mate, *Kentucky*, St. Louis, Mo.
H. C. Clark, Paris, Ill.
Mrs. M. B. Clark, 4134 Park St., St. Louis, Mo.
Mrs. T. H. Cope, Holton, Kan.
Mrs. L. M. Gambling, Oregon, Ill.
Eddy, Mrs. Fidelia, 1614 College, St. Louis, Mo.
M. M. Eshleman, Ottawa, Kan.
Mrs. M. C. Fisher, Princeton Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Mrs. Sue Fouts, Ponca City, Okla.
W. L. Garrison, Steward, *Kentucky*, St. Louis, Mo.
Belle Hagens, 4134 Peck, St. Louis, Mo.
Mrs. E. T. Haywood, La Fayette, Ind.
*L. A. Henry, Minneapolis, Kan.

- Mrs. Robert Hunter, Pittsfield, Ill.
Henry Horner, Beatrice, Neb.
Virgil Hart, Assistant Engineer, *Kentucky*, St. Louis, Mo.
Donald Henderson, Watchman, *Kentucky*, St. Louis, Mo.
Mrs. M. E. Johnson, Barring, Mo.
*Miss Mary Clinton Johnson, Daughter of the Association,
Springfield, Ill.
Mrs. H. H. F. Kellar, Ottawa, Kan.
Mrs. William Lowe, Warrensburg, Mo.
Mrs. L. E. Lane, Barring, Mo.
Captain John E. Massengale, St. Louis, Mo.
J. R. Massengale, Paducah, Ky.
David Mangum, Clerk, *Kentucky*, St. Louis, Mo.
James McIntosh, Orchestra, *Kentucky*, St. Louis, Mo.
Howard L. Maxon, Decatur, Ill.
Mrs. Howard L. Maxon, Decatur, Ill.
Mrs. Carrie Neff, Hiawatha, Kan.
Whit Settle, Carpenter, *Kentucky*, St. Louis, Mo.
George H. Shelby, Frankfort, Ind.
Mrs. Sarah D. Smith, Akron, Ohio.
Mrs. James Stewart, Paris, Ill.
W. F. Scott, Webb City, Mo.
J. L. Sacket, Girard, Ill.
G. H. Van Horne, Jerseyville, Ill.
Captain F. H. Windship, *Kentucky*, St. Louis, Mo.
Mrs. M. J. Webster, Beatrice, Neb.
Mrs. General George P. Washburn, Ottawa, Kan.
G. W. Washburn, Ottawa, Kan.
Dr. James Scott Walker, Chetopa, Kan.
Mrs. James Scott Walker, Chetopa, Kan.
Mrs. Eva Winkleman, Akron, Ohio.
Miss Adelia Waters, Orchestra, *Kentucky*, St. Louis, Mo.
Edward Yates, Pittsfield, Ill.

Those marked with a * were not present, but remitted annual dues.

CHAPTER XIX.

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REUNION.

Commander Washburn and staff assembled at St. Louis aboard the steamer *Kentucky*, and the following is the official report of the proceedings of the sixteenth Reunion, with 110 Veterans and friends in attendance.

The boat was finely decorated for the trip.

The patriotic ladies of the W. R. C. and ladies of the G. A. R. of St. Louis met all incoming trains to greet the Veterans and their friends, inviting them to their cars and transporting them to the steamer *Kentucky* at the foot of Pine Street. At 11:30 all were taken in cars to the Statler Hotel banquet-room on the top floor, where the Honorable James R. Dunn, chairman of the Reception Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, arranged and served a splendid luncheon. The committee consisted of James R. Dunn, chairman; J. J. Milholland, Captain H. S. Townsend, and Dr. L. H. Renfrow, representing the American Legion; Mrs. Robert Reardon and Mrs. H. S. Townsend, representing the Auxiliary of the American Legion. The military band from Jefferson Barracks and the St. Louis Pageant Chorus furnished us with inspiring patriotic music. Splendid welcome addresses were given by Governor Hyde, Major Kiel, Captain R. E. Lee, Colonel Donovan, and James R. Dunn, to which Commander Washburn responded, thanking Mr. James R. Dunn, the Chamber of Commerce, and all others assisting in the grand reception, closing by relating a story of a young Irishman who enlisted in St. Louis in 1861, served through the Civil War, and afterward furnished four boys for the World War, all of whom are now sleeping in patriotic graves in sunny France.

The Drum Corps of the Shiloh Veterans, consisting of Major French, George W. Manley, and George W. McDonald, all of Chicago, costumed in Colonial style of 1776, was highly appreciated by all.

After luncheon, the Veterans and their friends were taken on a sight-seeing expedition through the residence districts and through Forest Park, halting for a while at the Jefferson Memorial Building. Just across the driveway stands the wonderful equestrian statue, about twice life-size, of Louis IX. of France (St. Louis), after whom the city of St. Louis was named.

It had been arranged to have St. Louis descend from his steed, accompanied by R. E. Lee, extending greetings as they passed by. While this was taking place, Mr. Roy Anderson, representative of the Fox Feature Film Company of New York, took a moving picture of the scene.

At the conclusion of this all returned to our cars and enjoyed the last lap of our tour to the boat in waiting at the foot of Pine Street, where we were met by the splendid military band which accompanied us down to Jefferson Barracks, twelve miles below, giving us soul-stirring music all the way. We now reluctantly bade our good friend James R. Dunn good-bye, feeling under deep obligations to him and the city of St. Louis for the fraternal greeting extended us.

Our initial campfire was opened at 8 p. m. by singing "America" and "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," and prayer by our Chaplain, J. W. Cummins.

The Commander asked the Chaplain why he was not present at the last Reunion held at Indianapolis, and said that if he could not present a reasonable excuse, he would not prescribe a severe punishment.

The Chaplain replied that he would submit to almost any reasonable punishment, except being thrown overboard. Excused.

Dr. Charles O. Brown, of the 3rd Ohio Cavalry, gave some very interesting incidents of the Battle of Shiloh.

The Commander asked General S. M. French what was his excuse for not attending the Shiloh meeting at Indianapolis last September, and he replied that he had just been married. Excuse accepted.

Judge S. M. Howard was then called upon for an explanation as to why he was not present. His reply was that, being eighty-six years young, he attended the ball game. Excused.

Comrade Eli Sweet, 7th Iowa, made a statement as to whether Grant's army was surprised by the attack on the 6th of April, 1862. The facts are that General Prentiss' Division knew of the presence of the enemy in front, and were not surprised.

The campfire closed.

At 9 a. m. Sunday morning we arrived at Cairo, 200 miles below St. Louis, where we were met and greeted by these loyal people and taken in automobiles to the Mound City National Cemetery, ten miles up the Ohio River. On arrival there we formed in column and marched to the center of the Cemetery, encircled the principal monument, and knelt for a short service, while Mr. Roy Anderson made another moving picture. Then we returned to our cars and were taken back through the residence portion of Cairo, and then to the First M. E. Church, where the Reverend J. W. Coontz delivered a brief patriotic address of welcome, which was responded to by our Commander. Dr. Charles Brown followed with a few well-chosen remarks; and then our Chaplain, J. W. Cummins, gave us a soul-stirring and patriotic sermon, which was highly appreciated by all.

We then returned to the boat and soon left port, at 1 p. m.

All attended evening service at 8 p. m., when the Reverend Hugh C. Guy delivered a very interesting address on

Abraham Lincoln, relating some incidents showing the goodness of the lamented President.

We arrived at Paducah at 9 p. m., remaining one hour. At 10 a. m. on the 4th we reached Fort Henry, firing a salute. All went ashore and climbed up on the breastworks, when we returned to the boat and moved on up the historic Tennessee to Danville and Johnsonville. At 8 p. m. a campfire was held, opening with prayer and song. The roll being called, 54 Veterans answered, "Here!" Miss Hazella Downing gave a piano solo. A reading was given by Miss Lola V. Brown, "Are You a Mason?" A flashlight picture of the audience was taken by Roy Anderson, the official photographer of the Association. We were then entertained by Professor McGee. The campfire closed with song and benediction by the Chaplain.

About 10 a. m. April 5th we arrived at Savannah, Tennessee, where we visited the Cherry mansion, where General Grant had his headquarters at the time the Battle of Shiloh began, which has stood there for 150 years, and has always been owned and occupied by the Cherry family. The large room on the first floor where General Grant had his headquarters is still furnished with the same furniture it had at the time of the battle, inclusive of the old desk on which he wrote his orders. A moving picture was taken of the entire interior and of the Veterans. We then moved up the historic Tennessee, passing Pittsburg Landing, nine miles above, landing at Shaw's, in Alabama, and returned to Pittsburg Landing for supper. As the steamer rounded in Bob Hunter fired a salute. After a fine supper, many walked up to the Cemetery.

At 7:30 Charles O. Brown sounded the assembly with the call of his bugle; and at 8 o'clock the campfire was opened with singing and prayer. Comrade George W. Manley, of Chicago, addressed the audience in behalf of and in explanation of the Shiloh School Improvement Club, and appealed to Shiloh Survivors to assist the girls in raising a fund to build a National Memorial College in the Park in honor of

the Blue and the Gray and the Khaki. Many contributed to this worthy cause; and the Commander, being an architect, proposed to furnish the plans and specifications for the building free. Comrade A. L. Spencer related some of his experiences as an annual pilgrim and as an Andersonville prisoner. General S. M. French told some of his experiences at Shiloh. Chaplain Cummins related his experiences as an annual pilgrim to Shiloh, and spoke of the marked improvement of the Veterans, which did his soul good. Dr. A. N. Ellis, of Maysville, Kentucky, related some incidents of his recollections of Generals Buell and Nelson, regarding the death of General Albert Sidney Johnston, the Confederate Commander-in-chief, and the naming of his son after Nelson. Comrade J. S. Carpenter told his experience on the picket-line at Shiloh, which was quite interesting. Comrade D. Ritterbach related some of his experiences. Comrade W. H. H. Barker sang a song on "Uncle Sam." Judge S. M. Howard narrated some very pertinent facts relating to the Battle of Shiloh. Captain D. J. Jones protested against some of the remarks of other soldiers than the Army of the Ohio, after which the campfire closed with singing and prayer.

Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee.

April 6th the Veterans and friends were met at the Landing by a large delegation, headed by Major De Long Rice (Superintendent of the Park), carrying a large American flag. In the delegation were many women and girls carrying bouquets and baskets of flowers, which they presented to the Comrades and friends as they greeted them.

The Commander directed the Comrades and friends to form by twos, headed by the drum corps, and march up into the National Cemetery and assemble at the flagstaff, around which are the graves of the six color-bearers of the 16th Wisconsin who fell in the battle. The entire party were grouped around the mound. Six Comrades, each bearing a bouquet

of splendid flowers, deposited the same on the little green tent of each, and then all knelt and the Chaplain conducted a short service. Mrs. Eva Winkleman, daughter of Comrade David Ritterbach, of Akron, Ohio, recited an original poem, "To Shiloh Dead," which appears elsewhere. During the service Mr. Roy Anderson, of the Fox Film Corporation, made a moving picture of the entire scene. After conclusion of the service, all moved up through the Cemetery, viewing the beautiful resting-place of Shiloh's dead, pausing at the office of the Superintendent to register, and then passing out into the Park, where conveyances were waiting to carry all who wished to various places of interest. It was a beautiful day, reminding the Survivors of that beautiful Sunday morning fifty-nine years ago. But how different the reception!

At 7:30 p. m. the bugler sounded the assembly call, and the Commander opened the campfire with singing and prayer by the Reverend H. C. Guy. Miss Hettie Garnett gave an interesting reading. Miss Susie Stimson rendered a very amusing recitation. Harry White's quartette sang "The Veteran's Return," and the Reverend H. C. Guy recited a poem, "On Shiloh's Hill." Miss Washington, of Shiloh, gave a very interesting reading. Mrs. Eva Winkleman recited a poem, "Shiloh Battlefield." Judge Samuel M. Howard gave an account and history of the National Association of Battle of Shiloh Survivors. The campfire closed with prayer.

The forenoon of the 7th was spent in viewing many places of interest, quite a number going in automobiles to Corinth, Mississippi, eighteen miles away. Major De Long Rice, Commander Washburn, Mr. Roy Anderson, of the Fox Film Corporation, and quite a number of others visited the principal places of interest, where moving pictures were taken.

At 2:30 p. m. all met at the Government Pavilion in the Park, where the annual meeting of the Association was held, opened with singing and prayer.

Words of welcome were spoken by Major De Long Rice, as follows:

"Mr. Commander, Soldiers of Shiloh, Ladies and Gentlemen:

"Everything in nature has conspired with us to welcome you here to-day, as no volume of mere words could express our tender sentiments for you. The wild flowers are writing their poem of color through the woods and fields; the legions of the grasses are marching their silent columns up the slopes which you have rendered immortal; and the mocking-bird is tuning the trees of the forest with the madrigals of his love. May all these things of music and beauty interweave themselves with the warp and woof of our words to prove to you that everybody and everything here is glad to see you.

"We, the humble workers of Shiloh, have something to give you venerable soldiers, something you can not take away except in memory. From the body of a large fallen tree, we have erected this speaker's stand, which stood with you in the thickest of the battle, different, we think, from any in all the world; and it is dedicated to your patriotic use. The rings which years have circled around the heart tell us it has lived through more than 2,000 years. Far back of the guns at Shiloh it heard, borne on Freedom's earliest wings, the rolling drums of Yorktown.

"Yesterday I had a very serious thought as the flying camera of the Fox moving picture man was leveled, like a machine gun, upon us. Behind us was your Cemetery, the populous city of the dead; before us this river, which has paused not nor ceased its song during all the years of time since your fleet of transports came upon its bosom to this hill of Destiny.

"Never was a soldier excited more than we all were. But amid our paralytic awkwardness there were some beautiful things, which will show in the picture; for your great flag, stirred by the winds blowing from the Battlefield of Shiloh, was not afraid to flaunt its folds; and the veteran

trees, unembarrassed by the vanities that cumber human action, lifted their giant arms above your sacred dead, to wave to you their welcome.

"But if we, the human actors of your picture, did not lend to the scene that infinite grace of gesture and charm of smile which move in the forms and shine in the faces of your Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickfords, just remember they are paid a little more for their acting than we are.

"In the midst of the fluttering of that machine I found myself thinking of what we might have witnessed here to-day if only the moving picture were a reality fifty-nine years ago. We might have darkened the Pavilion and thrown upon the screen the life-shadows of your columns of blue and gray as they swept this field of death on April 6th and 7th, 1862, and your great commanders as they poised and hurled armies with the precision of swordsmen wielding a rapier. But so great a wonder is not possible for us; for when the guns of Shiloh clouded the heavens with smoke, the moving picture, with almost a soul of life, was still asleep in the matchless brain of Thomas A. Edison.

"My soldier friends, representing your great Government, and voicing the thought toward you of every man, north, east, south, or west, who loves his country, I welcome you as patriots of the past, patriots of the present, to be forever held patriots in the memory of our people."

This splendid welcome was ably responded to by Dr. Charles O. Brown.

The report of the Quartermaster shows a balance on hand, after all expenditures, for the year, of \$2.92.

Communications from absent members were then read. Mrs. Mary Clinton Stith (Daughter of the Association) expressed her regrets at not being able to be with us, thanking the Association for honors so kindly conferred, and requested the honor be bestowed on someone else, as it might be many years before she could be with us again.

Miss Lola Brown was duly elected Daughter of the Association, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Miss Mary Clinton Johnson (now Mrs. Stith).

Past Commander Isaac Yantis thanked the Association for courtesies extended to him, and declined re-election.

Election of officers now being in order, Junior Vice-Commander S. M. French took the Chair, when, on motion, Commander George P. Washburn, 21st Missouri, of Ottawa, Kansas, was re-elected Commander for the fifth consecutive time by acclamation; General S. M. French was elected Senior Vice-Commander, and J. S. Carpenter was elected Junior Vice-Commander; Dr. A. L. Ellis was elected Surgeon and Medical Director; the Reverend J. W. Cummins was re-elected Chaplain and the Reverend H. C. Guy was elected Assistant Chaplain.

Resolutions of sympathy and respect were passed on the sad death of Major Edward S. Johnson, 7th Illinois Infantry, and also for T. O. Sloan.

Thanks were extended to the Honorable James R. Dunn, of St. Louis, and the Chamber of Commerce of Cairo for the splendid receptions given the Association. Also a resolution thanking James R. Massengale, of the St. Louis and Tennessee River Packet Company, for the kind treatment of all officers and employees of the *Kentucky*.

A resolution was also unanimously passed recommending Commander Washburn for Commander of the Department of Kansas, G. W. R., and ordered same published in the *National Tribune*.

Mrs. Eva Winkleman, of Akron, Ohio, recited a beautiful poem of twenty-two stanzas, dedicating the same to the memory of Shiloh's dead, which she kindly composed for the occasion.

Commander Washburn announced his staff for the current year, as follows:

Judge Samuel M. Howard, 28th Illinois Infantry,
 Chief of Staff and Historian;
 J. S. Forgey, Adjutant and Quartermaster;
 E. V. Sayers, Quartermaster Sergeant;
 A. L. Ellis, Surgeon and Medical Director;
 Dr. Charles Brown, Chief Bugler;
 Major George W. Manley, Drum Major;
 George W. McDonald, Drummer Boy;
 Harry White, Officer of the Day;
 Bob Hunter, 28th Illinois Infantry, Chief of Artillery;
 Charles Stookey, Jr., Assistant Chief of Artillery;
 Samuel Preston, B. Handcock, Charles Barrett, W.
 H. H. Barker, D. B. Black, Milo R. Harris, H. C.
 Neff, Luther Ely Smith, and Loring Starr, Aides-
 de-camp.

The Commander sincerely trusts each member of his staff will perform his full duty and take an interest in securing as large an attendance as possible for the next Reunion. Urge the younger generation to accompany us, for we will soon have to turn the Association over to them.

By order of

GEORGE P. WASHBURN,
Commander-in-Chief.

Official: J. S. FORGEY, *Adjutant and Quartermaster.*

E. V. SAYERS, *Quartermaster Sergeant.*

The following is a complete roster of those attending the Reunion at Pittsburg Landing for 1921:

J. Y. Anderson, M, 5th Illinois Cavalry, 4424 Manchester,
 St. Louis, Mo.

*H. L. Brewer, B, 12th Illinois Infantry, Rock Falls, Ill.

Charles Barrett, A, 46th Illinois, Sioux Falls, S. D.

T. W. Blakeley, K, 125th Illinois, Westville, Ill.

W. H. H. Barker, K, 3rd Iowa Cavalry, Harvey, Ia.

Charles O. Brown, C, 3rd Ohio Cavalry, South Grove Ave.,
 Oak Park, Ill.

D. B. Black, A, 126th Illinois, R. F. D., Decatur, Ill.

- L. W. Brannon, D, 6th Iowa, Princeton, Mo.
- *Colonel J. B. Cook, 4th Illinois Cavalry, Chetopa, Kan.
- D. J. Clark, F, 49th Wisconsin, North Kindan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- J. S. Carpenter, I, 32nd Illinois, Webb City, Mo.
- J. F. Canady, E, 12th Illinois, Vermilion Grove, Ill.
- Amos C. Carter, C, 14th Wisconsin, Omro, Wis.
- *Silas Clifton, A, 31st Indiana, Topeka, Kan.
- J. S. Dickinson, H, 11th Wisconsin, Augusta, Ill.
- J. S. Dickinson, A, 2nd Battalion, 18th U. S., Lewis Center, Ohio.
- John A. Demuth, G, 2nd Iowa Infantry, Albes, Iowa.
- *John Davidson, A, 32nd Illinois Infantry, Girard, Ill.
- *Robert Dixon, B, 53rd Illinois, Witt, Ill.
- Dr. A. N. Ellis, K, 49th Ohio, Maysville, Ky.
- Luther M. Fry, H, 186th Pennsylvania, Topeka, Kan.
- General S. M. French, Pr. Musician, 12th Iowa, Denver, Col.
- John T. Francis, D, 16th Iowa, 2039 College, Decatur, Ill.
- E. B. Fisher, D, 23rd Missouri, 222 W. 6th, Florence, Kan.
- Colonel J. S. Forgey, B, 10th Indiana, Ottawa, Kan.
- De Bold Furrer, F, 28th Illinois, Easton, Ill.
- Theron Gould, I, 40th Illinois, Bible Grove, Ill.
- *Thomas Garner, B, 51st Missouri, Spickard, Ill.
- W. H. Holaday, B, 7th Tennessee Cavalry, Carbondale, Ill.
- W. H. Handcock, F, 21st Missouri, National Military Home, Leavenworth, Kan.
- Lapsley C. Henley, B, 7th Illinois, 3109 West Ave., Mattoon, Ill.
- General Samuel M. Howard, H and A, 28th Illinois Infantry, Gettysburg, S. D.
- *Captain Henry L. Hadsell, F, 28th Illinois, Barry, Ill.
- Fred Hoyer, B, 18th Illinois, Paducah, Ky.
- Colonel M. W. Hoyer, K and M, 19th Ohio, Akron, Ohio.
- Colonel Robert Hunter, B, 28th Illinois, Pittsfield, Ill.
- Milo R. Harris, 1st Kansas Light Artillery, Ottawa, Kan.

- *W. F. Hinkle, K, 44th Indiana, Saltillo, Tenn.
- L. F. Johnson, D, 1st Kentucky Infantry, Madisonville, Ohio.
- Captain D. J. Jones, D, 1st Kentucky Infantry, 2366 Bedford, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- *Samuel Kelley, H, 137th Illinois, Pleasant Hill, Ill.
- *John A. Logan, F, 49th Illinois, Ashley, Ill.
- *L. J. Lewis, D, 12th Iowa, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
- Taylor Laymaster, C, 14th Kansas, National Military Home, Leavenworth, Kan.
- Colonel E. T. Lee, I, 41st Illinois, Soldiers' Home, Minneapolis, Minn.
- W. B. McCasland, H, 6th Tennessee Cavalry, Herpel, Ark.
- G. W. McDonald, C, 65th Illinois, 5452 Race, Chicago, Ill.
- G. W. Manley, A, 51st Indiana, 3002 Calumet, Chicago, Ill.
- J. B. Martin, B, 10th Indiana, Princeton, Kan.
- J. D. McKinnie, A, 18th U. S., Prospect, Ohio.
- H. C. Neff, G, 1st Ohio Infantry, Hiawatha, Kan.
- O. L. Nicoll, K, 12th and 63rd Illinois, Mattoon, Ill.
- W. T. Osborne, H, 13th Kentucky, Waverly, Ill.
- *Ed. Penston, H, 73rd Illinois, Pittsville, Ill.
- Samuel C. Preston, C, 20th Ohio, Barnes, Kan.
- J. P. Penry, D, 20th Ohio, Prospect, Ohio.
- Elias Perry, F, 18th Missouri, De Witt, Mo.
- Mrs. Elias Perry, Army Nurse, 1861-65, De Witt, Mo.
- D. Rittersbach, G, 20th Illinois, Akron, Ohio.
- Hiram Roland, B, 7th Illinois Infantry, Mattoon, Ill.
- C. M. See, B, 40th Illinois, Alma, Ill.
- Eli Sweet, G, 7th Iowa, English, Iowa.
- Samuel Stees, A, 104th Ohio, Akron, Ohio.
- Robert S. Sprouse, B, 40th Illinois, Laclede, Ill.
- Loring Starr, F, 21st Missouri, Croton, Iowa.
- A. L. Spencer, F, 15th Illinois, Marshfield, Mo.
- J. W. Schenk, F, 6th Indiana, Henryetta, Okla.
- William Thompson, D, 1st Kentucky Infantry, 614 Clark, Evanston, Ill.

Henry Z. Tucker, E, 15th Illinois, Galesburg, Ill.

*John Underfinger, G, 43rd Illinois, Springfield, Ill.

G. W. Webster, K, 2nd Illinois Cavalry, Pittsfield, Ill.

Colonel Harry White, 1st Missouri Infantry, Pittsfield, Ill.

*E. W. Will, F, 77th Pennsylvania, Jessup, Md.

General George P. Washburn, Commander of the Association,
Ottawa, Kan.

*W. I. Webster, I, 15th Iowa, Beatrice, Neb.

*Shubel York, A, 25th Indiana, Naylor, Mo.

Isaac Yantis, 41st Illinois, Findlay, Ill.

Those marked with a * were not present, but remitted
annual dues.

Average age, 78 years.

Honorary Members.

Roy Anderson (Official Photographer), 3012 Park Ave., St.
Louis, Mo.

Mrs. Charles O. Anderson, 3012 Park Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

Mrs. Charles O. Brown, 831 South Grove Ave., Oak Park, Ill.

Miss Lola Brown, 831 South Grove Ave., Oak Park, Ill.

H. R. Balfour, Nebraska City, Neb.

Bruce Barnes, Pilot, *Kentucky*, Golconda, Ill.

George J. Bauer, Pittsfield, Ill.

Helen J. Bauer, Pittsfield, Ill.

Dr. J. W. Cummins, Chaplain, Marion, Ill.

Mrs. Mary Clark, 4134 Peck, St. Louis, Mo.

Captain B. J. Carraher, Steamer *Kentucky*.

E. E. Crawford, Bartlesville, Okla.

H. B. Carter, Omro, Wis.

H. N. Crane, Pilot, *Kentucky*, 745 Walton, St. Louis, Mo.

B. C. Coulter, Chief Engineer, *Kentucky*, 2430 McNair, St.
Louis, Mo.

Minnie L. Chancellor, 1829 Hickory, St. Louis, Mo.

Hazella May Downing, 418 Seventh St., Mason City, Iowa.

Everett Downey, Webb City, Mo.

- Mary Dickinson, Augusta, Ill.
Flora E. Ellinger, Ottawa, Kan.
Hezel Fisher, Florence, Kan.
Mrs. General S. M. French, Denver, Col.
W. L. Garrison, Steamer *Kentucky*, 4200A Maryland Ave.,
St. Louis, Mo.
Rev. Hugh C. Guy, Assistant Chaplain, Ottawa, Kan.
Miss Nell M. Harris, Ottawa, Kan.
Mrs. Robert M. Hunter, Pittsfield, Ill.
Mrs. Belle M. Hagens, 4134 Peck Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
L. A. Henry, Minneapolis, Kan.
Mrs. A. K. Ketchum, Clarion, Iowa.
M. J. Keith, Purser, *Kentucky*, 5624 Minneaoplis Ave., St.
Louis, Mo.
Captain John E. Massengale, St. Louis & Tennessee River
Packet Company, St. Louis, Mo.
Miss Lucille Meeker, Clarion, Iowa.
W. H. Murphy, Carpenter, *Kentucky*, 6520 Mount Ave., St.
Louis, Mo.
Mrs. H. A. Mauritzen, Sheridan Road, Evanston, Ill.
Amos McCormick, Steamer *Kentucky*, 6115 Page Ave., St.
Louis, Mo.
J. R. Massengale, St. Louis & Tennessee River Packet Co.,
Paducah, Ky.
Miss Irene Norton, Clarion, Ia.
Mrs. Adam Nuenberger, Wakefield, Neb.
Mrs. Carrie Neff, Hiawatha, Kan.
Ed. Paul, Clerk, *Kentucky*, Oxford Hotel, St. Louis, Mo.
Peter Shafer, 4737 Newport Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Mrs. James A. Sexton, Chicago, Ill.
Whit R. Settle, 723 Husband, Paducah, Ky.
Lieutenant Luther Eli Smith, 1723 Pierce Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
Hayes Z. Tucker, 448 West Tompkins, Galesburg, Ill.
Mrs. General George P. Washburn, Ottawa, Kan.
C. E. Warner, Warner Manufacturing Co., Ottawa, Kan.

Albert Weese, Steamer *Kentucky*, 3149 Sheridan, St. Louis, Mo.

Mrs. Eva Winkleman, 274 Rosedale, Akron, Ohio.

Mrs. Mary Winkleman, Monroe Falls, Ohio.

A. W. Voorhees, Smithfield, Ill.

*Edward Yates, Pittsfield, Ill.



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DATE DUE

MAR 19 1991			
MAR 23 1991			
APR 6 1991			
MAR 24 1991			
OCT 6 1991			
SEP 29 1991			
DEC 20 1991			
DEC 18 1991			
JUL 30 1992			
MAY 31 1992			
FEB 25 1992			
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